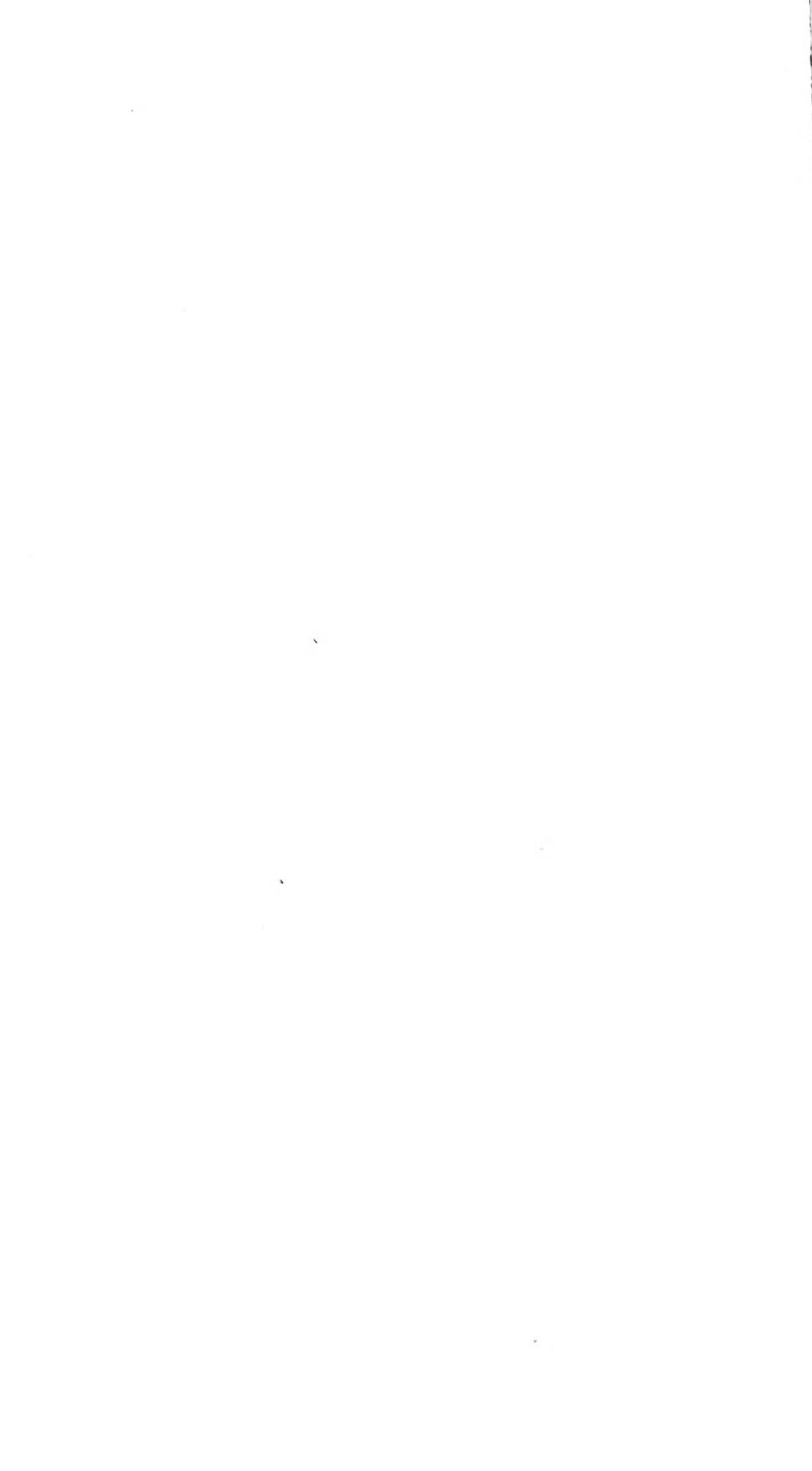




EASTMAN'S
HISTORY OF NEW YORK.



A

HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW YORK,

FROM THE

FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTRY

TO THE

PRESENT TIME:

WITH A

GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY,

AND A

VIEW OF ITS ORIGINAL INHABITANTS.

BY F. S. EASTMAN.

A NEW EDITION.

NEW YORK :

AUGUSTUS K. WHITE.

1833

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK, SS.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twentieth day of October, A. D. 1828, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, JAMES CONNER, of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, *to wit*:

"A History of the State of New York, from the First Discovery of the Country to the Present Time."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an act, entitled, 'An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.'"

FRED. J. BETTS,
Clerk of the Southern District of New York.

PREFACE

THE object of the present volume is to furnish a brief outline of the natural, civil and statistical history of the state of New York. The want of a work of this kind has long been deeply felt, and universally acknowledged. An imperfect attempt to supply this defect was made in the first edition of this work; but the prescribed limits of that publication were found to be, in a great measure, inadequate to the object.

Since the publication of the first edition, the work has undergone many important alterations, which, it is hoped, will be considered as improvements. It has been increased to near twice its original size by extensive additions, consisting chiefly of more particular details of the most interesting events. The whole has been carefully revised, and no effort spared to render it worthy of the public favor.

In obtaining materials for the different departments of this work, recourse has been had to a great variety of sources, as will be seen by the references and the catalogue of authorities. In some instances, the author has introduced

passages from other writers; and some details of considerable length have been inserted with very little or no alteration. Among the works from which the most copious extracts have been made, are Yates and Moulton's History of New York, Godman's Natural History, Holmes's American Annals, Botta's American War, and Ramsay's History of the Revolution.

In offering the present volume to the citizens of New York, the Author has attempted, in some measure, to redeem the pledge which was given on the publication of the first edition, and to render the work more deserving of the public patronage. How far the present effort has been successful, remains to be determined by the verdict of an enlightened community, to whom the work is respectfully submitted.

CATALOGUE

OF AUTHORS USED AND CONSULTED IN THE COMPILATION OF
THIS WORK.

Smith (William), History of New York, from the first Discovery to the Year 1732; with a Continuation to the Commencement of the Year 1814. 8vo. Albany, 1814.

Yates (John V. N.) and Moulton (Joseph W.), History of the State of New York, including the Aboriginal and Colonial Annals. Vol. I., Part I. New York, 1824.

Moulton (Joseph W.), History of the State of New York. Part II. Novum Belgium. New York, 1826.

Gordon (William), History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, including an Account of the late War, and of the thirteen Colonies from their Origin to that Period. 8vo. 4 vols. London, 1788.

British Empire in America. 3 vols. London, 1756.

British Dominions in North America, History of, from the first Discovery of that Continent, by S. Cabot, in 1497, to the Peace of 1763. 4to. London, 1773.

Winterbotham (W.) A Historical, Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the American United States, and the European Settlements in America and the West Indies. 8vo. 4 vols. London, 1795.

Colden (Cadwallader), History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada. 8vo. London, 1747.

Chalmers (George), Political Annals of the present United Colonies. 4to. London, 1789.

Holmes (Abiel), The Annals of America, from the Discovery by Columbus, in the Year 1492, to the Year 1826. 8vo. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1829.

Charlevoix, Travels in North America. 8vo. 2 vols. London, 1763.

Botta (Charles), History of the War of the Independence of the United States of America, translated from the Italian by Geo. A. Otis. 8vo. 2 vols. Boston, 1826.

Historical Society, Collections of the New York. 8vo. 4 vols. 1811—1826.

—————, Massachusetts, Collections of the. 8vo. 21 vols. Boston, 1792—1825.

Ramsay (David), History of the American Revolution. 8vo. Dublin, 1795.

Remembrance (Almon). 8vo. 17 vols. London.

Journal of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York, from 1691 to 1743. fol. New York, 1764.

————— 2d vol., from 1743 to 1765. fol. New York, 1766.

————— from 1767 to 1775. fol. New York.

Journal of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York, from 1777 to 1810, inclusive, being 33 sessions. — vols. fol. Fishkill, New York, Poughkeepsie, Albany.

Williams (Samuel), Natural and Civil History of Vermont. 8vo. 2 vols. Burlington, 1809.

Robertson (William), History of America. 8vo. 3 vols. Basil, 1790.

Adams (Hannah), History of New England. 8vo. Dedham, 1799.

Brackenridge (H. M.), History of the late War between the United States and Great Britain. 12mo. Baltimore, 1818.

Bradford (Alden), History of Massachusetts, from 1764 to 1789. 8vo. 2 vols. Boston, 1823.

Thacher (James), Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783. 8vo. Boston, 1823.

Trumbull (Benjamin), History of Connecticut from 1630 to 1764, and to the Close of the Indian War. 8vo. 2 vols. New Haven, 1818.

Vermont State Papers, compiled by W. Slade, Secretary of State. 8vo. Middlebury, 1823.

Spafford (H. G.), Gazetteer of the State of New York. 8vo. Albany, 1813 and 1824.

Adair (James), History of the American Indians. 4to. London, 1775.

Morse (Jedidiah), American Universal Geography. 8vo. 2 vols. Boston, 1819.

Godman (J. D.), American Natural History. 8vo. 3 vols. Philadelphia.

Dwight (—), Travels in New York and the New England States. 8vo. 3 vols.

Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. 8vo. 8 vols. Philadelphia.

Allen (William), American Biographical and Historical Dictionary. 8vo. Cambridge, 1809.

Lavoisne (M.), Atlas. Carey's American edition. fol. Philadelphia, 1820.

Lempriere's Universal Biography, Lord's American edition, with additional American Biography. 8vo. 2 vols. New York, 1825.

Worcester (J. E.), Geographical Dictionary, or Universal Gazetteer. 8vo. 2 vols. Boston, 1823.

Delaplaine's Repository. 4to. Philadelphia.

Hoosac (David), Memoir of De Witt Clinton, with an Appendix. 4to. New York, 1829.

Goodrich (Charles A.), Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

History of the United States. Boston, 1827.

Haines (Charles G.), Memoir of Thomas Addis Emmet. New York, 1829.

CONTENTS.

Preface,.....

CHAP. I.

NATURAL GEOGRAPHY.

Boundaries. Situation and Extent. Climate. Face of the Country
Mountains. Soil and Productions. Rivers. Lakes. Islands.....13

CHAP. II.

NATURAL GEOGRAPHY—CONTINUED.

Mineralogy. Salt Springs. Medicinal Waters. Botany. Natural
Curiosities.....26

CHAP. III.

NATURAL GEOGRAPHY—CONTINUED.

Native Animals.

Mastodon. Moose. Bear. Wolf. Cougar. Wolverine. Catamount.
Wildcat. Raccoon. Marten. Deer. Fox. Hare. Rabbit. Por-
cupine. Woodchuck. Skunk. Weasel. Squirrel. Mouse. Er-
mine. Beaver. Musk-Rat. Mink. Otter. Fish. Birds. Insects.
Serpents and Reptiles.....35

CHAP. IV.

VIEW OF THE COUNTRY AT THE TIME OF ITS DISCOVERY BY HUDSON.

State of the Country. Aborigines. Religion and Superstitions. Iro-
quois. Their Confederacy. Antiquities. Inference. Their Au-
thors, and Origin of the Indian Race.....60

CHAP. V.

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT.

Discoveries of Columbus and the Cabots. Great River discovered and
explored by Hudson. Champlain's Expedition. Hudson detained in
England. Dutch trade to the Great River. Licensed Trading
Company. First Settlement. West India Company. New Nether-
land. First Governor. Van Twiller's Administration. Kieft. Stuy-
vesant. New Netherland surrendered to the English.....78

CHAP. VI.

FROM 1665 TO 1710.

Administration of Nichols. Lovelace. New York retaken by the Dutch, and soon after restored to the English. Andros. Dongan. Revolution. Leisler. Sloughter. Bellomont. War with the French, &c.....98

CHAP. VII.

FROM 1710 TO 1743.

Hunter's Administration. Expedition against Canada. Administration of Burnet, Montgomery, Crosby and Clarke.121

CHAP. VIII.

FROM 1743 TO 1760.

George Clinton appointed Governor. War with France. Expedition against Louisburg. Incursions of the French and Indians. Operations of the War in 1746. Capture of the French Fleet. Indian Depredations. Termination of the War. Osborne appointed Governor, dies, and is succeeded by Delancey. Hostilities again commenced with the French. Colonial Convention. Hardy appointed Governor. Colonies prosecute the War.....134

CHAP. IX.

CONTINUATION OF THE FRENCH WAR.

Formal Declaration of War. Campaign of 1756, and Capture of Oswego. Campaign of 1757, and Capture of Fort William Henry. Expedition against Ticonderoga. Capture of Fort Frontenae. Campaign of 1759. Surrender of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Capture of Niagara. Wolfe's Expedition against Quebec. War terminated in 1760 by the entire Conquest of Canada.....154

CHAP. X.

FROM 1760 TO 1775.

Prospects of the Colony. Controversy relative to the New Hampshire Grants. Opposition from the Settlers. Stamp Act. Congress at New York. Disturbances occasioned by the Stamp Act. Stamp Act repealed. Assembly restrained. Further Attempts to tax the Colonies. Controversy with the Grants become serious. Parties prevented from proceeding to Hostilities by the Controversy with Great Britain.176

CHAP. XI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Origin of the Controversy with Great Britain. State of Affairs in the Colony. Convention appoints Delegates to the Provincial Congress. War breaks out at Lexington. Disturbances in New York. Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Governor Tryon arrives. Expedition against Canada. Surrender of Chamby, St. John's and Montreal. Montgomery appears before Quebec. His Death. Inhabitants of Tryon County disarmed. Provincial Troops enter New York. Americans evacuate Canada. Declaration of Independence.....195

CHAP. XII.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. FROM 1776 TO 1778.

Disposition of British and American Troops at New York. Battle on Long Island. Americans evacuate New York. Americans continue to retreat. Fort Washington taken by the British. Operations on Lake Champlain. Convention adopt the State Constitution. Commencement of the Northern Campaign in 1777. Invasion of Burgoyne. His Capture. Enterprise of Clinton. State Government organized.....216

CHAP. XIII.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR—CONTINUED TO ITS TERMINATION.

Legislative Proceedings. Revival of Controversy relative to the Grants. Treaty of Alliance with France. British Army concentrated at New York. French Fleet arrives. Campaign of 1779. Operations at Stony Point and Verplanck's. Expedition against the Indians. Campaign of 1780. Depredations of the Royal Army. Arnold's Treachery. Campaign of 1781. Capture of Cornwallis. Independence acknowledged. British evacuate New York, and the Americans take Possession. Army disbanded.....249

CHAP. XIV.

FROM 1783 TO 1812.

Condition of the Country at the Close of the War. Organization of the general Government. Internal Concerns of the State. Settlement of the Vermont Controversy. Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. Civil Policy. Attention of the Legislature directed to the Subject of internal Navigation.....290

CHAP. XV.

WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

War declared. Preparation for the Invasion of Canada. Battle of Queenstown. Capture of York and Fort George. Operations on the Lakes. Battles of Bridgewater, Chippewa and Plattsburg. Termination of the War. Commencement and Completion of the Northern and Erie Canals.....	307
---	-----

GENERAL VIEWS.

Constitution and Laws. Political Divisions. Cities and Villages. Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Canals. Banks. Militia. Education. Literary Institutions. Religion. Population. Character.....	326
--	-----

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

Sketches of the Lives and Characters of some distinguished Men in the Colony and State of New York.....	369
---	-----

APPENDIX.

No. I. Declaration of Independence.....	428
No. II. Treatment of American Prisoners by the British.....	431
No. III. Constitution of the United States.....	433
No. IV. Progress of Settlements.	448
No. V. List of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the Colony and State of New York, with the Time of their Appointments....	448
No. VI. Notes respecting the Engravings.....	451
<hr/>	
Life of Martin Van Buren.	452
<hr/>	
Census of 1830.	450

HISTORY OF NEW YORK.

CHAP. I.

NATURAL GEOGRAPHY.

*Boundaries. Situation and Extent. Climate
Face of the Country. Mountains. Soil and
Productions. Rivers. Lakes. Islands.*

SEC. I. *Boundaries.* New York is bounded by Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Long Island sound, on the south; Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and lake Champlain, on the east; Lower Canada, the St. Lawrence, lake Ontario, Niagara river, lake Erie, and Pennsylvania, on the north and west.

SEC. II. *Situation and Extent.* This state is situated between lat. $40^{\circ} 40'$ and 45° north, and between long. 73° and $79^{\circ} 55'$ west. The length of the state, on the parallel of 42° , is 340 miles, and the greatest breadth, from north to south, 304. It contains, exclusive of islands, about 45,000 square miles. It is one of the largest of the United States, and the only one which extends from the Atlantic to the western lakes.

SEC. III. *Climate.* New York, extending through more than four degrees of latitude, presents a considerable diversity of climate. It is cold in the north, towards the St. Lawrence;

but milder in the south-east, and in the country lying on the shore of lake Ontario. The greatest range of the thermometer is from 24° below to 95° above the cipher of Fahrenheit.

The climate of the counties between lake Ontario and Pennsylvania is much warmer than that of those farther east in the same latitude. The earliest forest trees in this tract put forth their leaves about the first of May; and the oak and other late trees by the 20th.

The shallow ponds and brooks usually freeze in October, and snow commonly falls by the last of November, but seldom during the winter exceeds a foot in depth. Cattle are sometimes kept in pastures till January, and on the Genesee flats nearly the whole winter.

The fever and ague is the most common disease throughout the state. It prevails on the Hudson, lake Champlain, on the Mohawk and the St. Lawrence, on the Chenango and the Oswego, on the Genesee and the Niagara. This disease is, however, becoming less frequent than formerly, and in many places, where, but a few years since, its prevalence was severely felt, it now very seldom occurs.

The country between Pennsylvania and lake Ontario is the most unhealthy part of the state. Malignant bilious fevers are common, and prove extremely prejudicial to strangers. This is particularly true on the banks of the Genesee, and on the low lands in the vicinity of the lakes. They sometimes occur between the Champlain and the St. Lawrence.

SEC. IV. *Face of the Country.* The face of the country exhibits an interesting variety, but is less mountainous than many other parts of America. The Catskill mountains, in the eastern part of the state, are the principal range. The western part generally presents a level, or moderately undulating surface.

The south-eastern part of the state, particularly between the Hudson and Chenango, may be characterized as moun-

tainous. A narrow tract near the Pennsylvania line is generally hilly. From this to lake Ontario, the country is mostly level, and contains no elevation deserving the name of a mountain.

The north-western part of the state, between lakes Erie and Ontario, presents a remarkable singularity of surface. Lake Erie is more than 300 feet above lake Ontario, and the country around proportionably higher. The descent towards lake Ontario is not irregular and imperceptible, but is made by three successive pitches, or steeps, with a wide interval of level land between them.

The upper or southern pitch commences at Buffalo, at the mouth of lake Erie, and runs north of east, stretching round the mouth of Canandaigua lake to the west side of the Seneca; thence south to the high grounds of the Tioga.

The middle pitch commences at the Falls of Niagara, and, after an eastern course of about 50 miles, takes a southerly direction to the Genesee; thence north of the Seneca, Cayuga, Skeneateles and Otisco lakes, and in an eastern direction to the hills, from whose southern declivities flow the Chenango and Unadilla.

The northern or lower pitch branches from the middle one near the Eighteen Mile Run, (a stream which empties eighteen miles east of the Niagara,) and, diverging northward, proceeds, with a progress sometimes indistinct, to the lower falls of the Genesee; thence eastward to the falls of the Oswego, 12 miles from its mouth.

The north-eastern part of the state is generally hilly; and the height of land between Champlain and the St. Lawrence presents a range of mountains of considerable elevation. A tract about 30 miles wide, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, is uneven. At that distance, it becomes rough and broken.

SEC. V. *Soil and Productions.* The soil of New York is generally fertile, and well adapted to the purposes of agriculture. The country between the Seneca and Cayuga lakes, the val-

ley of the Chenango, the extensive flats of the Genesee, and the lands along Black river, in richness of soil, are second, perhaps, to none in America.

West of the Genesee, the soil is less uniformly good. That near lake Ontario is the best. An extensive tract, in the eastern part of the state, including the counties of Rensselaer, Columbia, Greene, Schoharie, Albany and Schenectady is but indifferent. The country along the Mohawk, west of the Oneida village, is very rich. The plains of Herkimer have long been justly celebrated for their fertility.

Wheat is the most important production, and is extensively cultivated throughout the state. It is raised on the flats of the Genesee with unparalleled facility, and in quality surpassed by none.

Many parts of the state are well adapted to grazing. Maize, rye and barley are generally cultivated with success. In the counties south-east of the Chenango, the hills are covered with fine timber, and, when cleared, afford excellent pasture. The intervening valleys produce grass and the various kinds of grain in abundance.

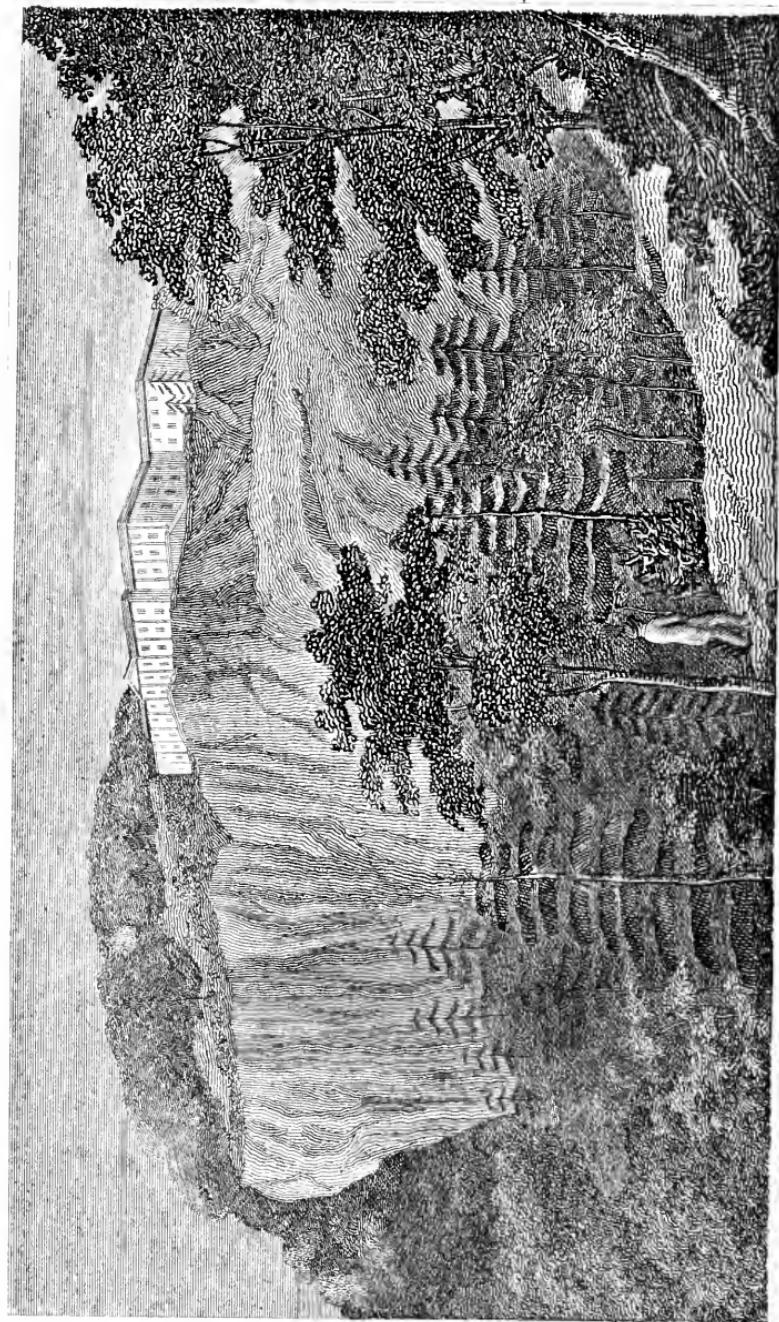
SEC. VI. *Rivers.* This state contains many noble streams, and is watered by some of the most celebrated rivers of America. On the western and northern boundaries are the Niagara and the St. Lawrence. The Allegany, Susquehannah and Delaware rise in the south part of the state. The western part contains the Genesee, Oswego and Black rivers; and the eastern part the Saranac, Hudson and Mohawk.

The Niagara river is the outlet of lake Erie, and runs north about 30 miles to lake Ontario, embracing Grand and Navy islands, and receiving the Tonnewanta creek from the east.



THE MUSEUM, NEW YORK CITY, U. S. A.

THE MUSEUM



Three miles from lake Erie, it is 7 furlongs in width, and its average depth 21 feet, with a current of 6 miles an hour.

Eighteen miles from lake Erie, are the celebrated *Falls of Niagara*. For a mile above the great pitch, the bed of the river sinks gradually 57 feet, causing grand and fearful rapids. It is then suddenly depressed, forming a precipice of about 160 feet from bank to bank. On the brink of the precipice is a small island, which divides the stream, and presents, for 150 yards, a perpendicular front of rock, fragments of which lie in confusion at its base.

“The form of the falls is that of an irregular semicircle, about three quarters of a mile in extent. This is divided into two distinct cascades by the intervention of Goat island, the extremity of which is perpendicular, and in a line with the precipice, over which the water is projected. The cataract on the Canada side of the river is called the *Horseshoe*, or *Great Fall*, from its peculiar form; and that next the United States, the *American Fall*.

Three extensive views of the falls may be obtained from three different places. In general, the first opportunity travellers have of seeing the cataract is from the high-road, which, at one point, lies near the bank of the river. This place, however, being considerably above the level of the falls, and a good way beyond them, affords a view that is comparatively imperfect and unimposing.

The Table Rock, from which the Falls of the Niagara may be contemplated in all their grandeur, lies on an exact level with the edge of the cataract on the Canada side, and, indeed, forms a part of the precipice, over which the water rushes. It derives its name from the circumstance of its projecting beyond the cliffs that support it, like the leaf of a table. To gain this position, it is necessary to descend a steep bank, and to follow a path that winds among shrubbery and trees, which entirely conceal from the eye the scene that awaits him who traverses it.

When near the termination of this road, a few steps carried me beyond all these obstructions, and a magnificent amphitheatre of cataracts burst upon my view with appalling sud-

denness and majesty. However, in a moment, the scene was concealed from my eyes by a dense cloud of spray, which involved me so completely that I did not dare to extricate myself.

A mingled and thundering rushing filled my ears. I could see nothing, except when the wind made a chasm in the spray, and then tremendous cataracts seemed to encompass me on every side; while, below, a raging and foamy gulf, of undiscoverable extent, lashed the rocks with its hissing waves, and swallowed, under a horrible obscurity, the smoking floods that were precipitated into its bosom.

At first, the sky was obscured by clouds; but, after a few minutes, the sun burst forth, and the breeze, subsiding at the same time, permitted the spray to ascend perpendicularly. A host of pyramidal clouds rose majestically, one after another, from the abyss at the bottom of the fall; and each, when it had ascended a little above the edge of the cataract, displayed a beautiful rainbow, which, in a few moments, was gradually transferred into the bosom of the cloud that immediately succeeded.

The spray of the Great Fall had extended itself through a wide space directly over me, and, receiving the full influence of the sun, exhibited a luminous and magnificent rainbow, which continued to overarch and irradiate the spot on which I stood, while I enthusiastically contemplated the indescribable scene.

Any person, who has nerve enough, may plunge his hand into the water of the Great Fall, after it is projected over the precipice, merely by lying down flat, with his face beyond the edge of the Table Rock, and stretching out his arm to its utmost extent. The experiment is truly a horrible one, and such as I would not wish to repeat; for, even to this day, I feel a shuddering and recoiling sensation, when I recollect having been in the posture above described.

The body of water, which composes the middle part of the Great Fall, is so immense, that it descends nearly two thirds of the space without being ruffled or broken; and the solemn calmness, with which it rolls over the edge of the precipice, is finely contrasted with the perturbed appearance it assumes

after having reached the gulf below. But the water, towards each side of the fall, is shattered the moment it drops over the rock, and loses, as it descends, in a great measure, the character of a fluid, being divided into pyramidal-shaped fragments, the bases of which are turned upwards.

The surface of the gulf, below the cataract, presents a very singular aspect; seeming, as it were, filled with an immense quantity of hoar frost, which is agitated by small and rapid undulations. The particles of water are dazzlingly white, and do not apparently unite together, as might be supposed, but seem to continue for a time in a state of distinct communion, and to repel each other with a thrilling and shivering motion, which cannot easily be described.

The road to the bottom of the fall presents many more difficulties than that which leads to the Table Rock. After leaving the Table Rock, the traveller must proceed down the river nearly half a mile, where he will come to a small chasm in the bank, in which there is a spiral staircase, enclosed in a wooden building. By descending the stair, which is seventy or eighty feet perpendicular height, he will find himself under the precipice, on the top of which he formerly walked. A high but sloping bank extends from its base to the edge of the river, and on the summit of this there is a narrow, slippery path, covered with angular fragments of rock, which leads to the Great Fall.

The impending cliffs, hung with a profusion of trees and brush-wood, overarch the road, and seem to vibrate with the thunders of the cataract. In some places, they rise abruptly to the height of one hundred feet, and display upon their surfaces fossil shells, and the organic remains of a former world; thus sublimely leading the mind to contemplate the convulsions which nature has undergone since the creation.

As the traveller advances, he is frightfully stunned by the appalling noise; clouds of spray sometimes envelope him, and suddenly check his faltering steps; rattlesnakes start from the cavities of the rocks; and the scream of eagles, soaring among the whirlwinds of eddying vapor, which obscure the gulf of the cataract, at intervals, announces that the raging

waters have hurled some bewildered animal over the precipice. After scrambling among piles of huge rocks that obstruct his way, the traveller gains the bottom of the fall, where the soul can be susceptible only of one emotion—that of uncontrollable terror.

It was not until I had, by frequent excursions to the falls, in some measure familiarized my mind with their sublimities, that I ventured to explore the recesses of the Great Cataract. The precipice over which it rolls is very much arched underneath, while the impetus, which the water receives in its descent, projects it far beyond the cliff; and thus an immense Gothic arch is formed by the rock and the torrent. Twice I entered this cavern, and twice I was obliged to retrace my steps, lest I should be suffocated by the blast of dense spray that whirled around me: however, the third time, I succeeded in advancing about twenty-five yards.

Hence darkness began to encircle me. On one side, the black cliff stretched itself into a gigantic arch far above my head, and, on the other, the dense and hissing torrent formed an impenetrable sheet of foam, with which I was drenched in a moment. The rocks were so slippery, that I could hardly keep my feet, or hold securely by them; while the horrid din made me think the precipices above were tumbling down in colossal fragments upon my head.

A little way below the Great Fall, the river is, comparatively speaking, so tranquil, that a ferry-boat plies between the Canada and American shores, for the convenience of travellers. When I first crossed, the heaving flood tossed about the skiff with a violence that seemed very alarming; but, as soon as we gained the middle of the river, my attention was altogether engaged by the surpassing grandeur of the scene before me.

I was now within the area of a semicircle of cataracts more than three thousand feet in extent, and floated on the surface of a gulf, raging, fathomless, and interminable. Majestic cliffs, splendid rainbows, lofty trees, and columns of spray, were the gorgeous decorations of this theatre of wonders; while a dazzling sun shed resplendent glories upon every part

of the scene.—Surrounded with clouds of vapor, and stunned into a state of confusion and terror by the hideous noise, I looked upwards to the height of one hundred and fifty feet, and saw vast floods, dense, awful, and stupendous, vehemently bursting over the precipice, and rolling down, as if the windows of heaven were opened to pour another deluge upon the earth.

Loud sounds, resembling discharges of artillery or volcanic explosions, were now distinguishable amidst the watery tumult, and added terrors to the abyss from which they issued. The sun, looking majestically through the ascending spray, was encircled by a radiant halo; while fragments of rainbows floated on every side, and momentarily vanished, only to give place to a succession of others more brilliant.

Looking backwards, I saw the Niagara river again become calm and tranquil, rolling majestically between the towering cliffs, that rose on either side. A gentle breeze ruffled the waters, and beautiful birds fluttered around, as if to welcome its egress from those clouds, and thunders, and rainbows, which were the heralds of its precipitation into the abyss of the cataract.”*

The quantity of water passing the falls is estimated at 670,255 tons per minute, and the width of the stream, including the island, at 1410 yards. The channel on the American side of the island is the widest, and has the greatest perpendicular descent; though four fifths, and perhaps a still larger proportion, of the waters pass on the Canadian side.

The depth of the river beneath the fall is probably far greater than its height; since the tallest trees, descending perpendicularly, are lost for several minutes beneath the water, before they reappear. The banks of the river below are on both sides perpendicular, of solid rock, and of the same height with the falls. They continue about the same height 7 miles to Queenstown.

The St. Lawrence is the outlet of lake Ontario, and, for a considerable distance, constitutes the northern boundary of New York. If considered as rising at the source of the St.

* Howison.

Louis, it is 2000 miles in length, and, in its quantity of water, surpassed by no river in North America.

The Hudson rises in the northern part of the state, between lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence, and runs south 250 miles to the Atlantic. It is navigable for ships 130 miles to Hudson, and for sloops 36 miles farther, to Troy. The tide in this river flows 160 miles.

The Mohawk rises in the northern part of Oneida county, 8 miles from Black river. Its course is south of east 150 miles to the Hudson. It runs in a deep ravine, and is wild and impetuous. There is generally along its banks a vale of rich soil, but, in many places, spurs from the neighbouring hills project themselves to the shore of the river.

The chief tributaries of the Mohawk, from the north, are Great and Little Canada creeks. The former empties at Herkimer, and the latter 13 miles below. They run in deep ravines, are long, rapid and unnavigable. On the south, the Schoharie, descending from the Catskill mountains, rolls northward with the impetuosity of a torrent, and joins the Mohawk at Fort Hunter.

The Genesee rises in Pennsylvania, and pursues a northerly course of 120 miles to lake Ontario. It has several interesting cataracts. At Rochester is a perpendicular descent of 96 feet. In spring, this river is a torrent; in autumn, it is nearly dry.

The Oswego is formed by the union of the Oneida and Seneca rivers, and runs north-west 45 miles to lake Ontario. Through the Oneida river, it receives the waters of the lake of that name, and through the Seneca river the waters of the Seneca, Cayuga, Owasco, Skeneateles and Otisco lakes. The courses of these branches are very irregular.

"Black river heads near the sources of Great Canada creek, and runs south-west 20 miles. There, bending north-north-west, in about the same distance, it receives Moose creek from the east. As they unite, they rush over a precipice, 63 feet perpendicular, into a broad basin. Hence it flows, a broad and quiet stream, 42 miles in the same direction; when, passing an inconsiderable fall, it turns west by south, and, after a course of

25 miles, empties into Black River bay, an arm of Chaumont bay, near the outlet of lake Ontario.”*

The Oswegatchie, and several other considerable rivers, fall into the St. Lawrence.

“Racket river rises near the Hudson, and at first runs north-east. It has a portage of one mile to Moose creek, and of one and one half miles to the Hudson. After passing through three considerable lakes, the lowest of which is forty miles from its source, it runs north-west fifty miles, and in this distance has more than twenty falls and rapids; some of which are twenty, others forty, and one one hundred and fifty feet high. In this distance, it is generally one hundred yards broad; but in one place only five feet. Turning again to the north-east, it has a gentle current for thirty miles to the St. Lawrence.”*

Big Chazy, Saranac and Sable rivers fall into lake Champlain. The Chenango and Tioga are branches of the Susquehannah. Cataraugus and Buffalo creeks are considerable streams falling into lake Erie. The Tonnewanta, after a course of 40 miles, falls into the Niagara. It is navigable for boats 28 miles.

SEC. VII. *Lakes.* Erie, Ontario and Champlain, each form a part of the boundary of New York. In the interior are several lakes inferior in size, but generally adapted to the purposes of internal navigation. Oneida, Seneca and Cayuga are among the most important.

Lake Erie is 200 miles long, and 710 in circumference. It contains a large number of islands, and abounds with fish. It is of more dangerous navigation than the others, on account of the rocks, which project into the water, for many miles together, from the northern shore, affording no shelter from storms, which, at some seasons, are very frequent.

Lake Ontario is of an oval form, about 160 miles in length, and 450 in circumference. Its banks are, in many places, precipitous. The southern shore is covered principally with

peech trees, and the soil appears fertile. This lake abounds with several varieties of fish. "It receives the waters of the Genesee river from the south, and of Onondaga, at fort Oswego, from the south-east, by which it communicates, through lake Oneida and Wood creek, with the Mohawk and Hudson rivers. On the north-east, this lake discharges itself through the river Cataraqui (which at Montreal takes the name of the St. Lawrence) into the Atlantic ocean. 'It is asserted, that these lakes fill once in seven years, and that 1794 was the year when they would be full; but, as we are unacquainted with any laws of nature, by which this periodical effect should be produced, we may with propriety doubt the fact.'"^{*} The great depth of these waters constitutes one of their most distinguishing characteristics. The bottom of Ontario, Erie, and the other large lakes connected with them, is found to be below the surface of the Atlantic ocean.—Lake Champlain, on the eastern boundary, is 100 miles in length, and from 1 to 25 in breadth.

Lake George is 37 miles long, and from 1 to 7 broad. On each side it is skirted by lofty mountains. Its banks are uncommonly handsome, and the water so transparent, that the bottom is visible at almost any depth. It embosoms more than 200 beautiful islands, most of which are covered with groves of pine, cedar and hemlock. It falls into lake Champlain by a channel 3 miles in length, during which its waters descend more than 100 feet.

Oneida lake is 20 miles long, and 5 broad. From the south, it receives the waters of Cazenovia lake through the Chittenango.

Seneca lake is 40 miles long, and from 2 to 3 wide. Its outlet, the Seneca, runs north of east 12 miles, and falls into Cayuga lake near its mouth. Crooked lake is 15 miles long, and from 1 to 2 wide. A short stream connects it with the Seneca.

Cayuga lake is 40 miles long, and from 2 to 4 broad. Onondaga, or Salt lake, is 6 miles long, and 1 broad. On the south-west, it receives the waters of the Otisco by a stream 16 miles long, and at the north end flows through a short

* Morse.

channel into Seneca river. Skeneateles lake, 14 miles long and 1 broad, and the Owasco, 11 miles long and 1 broad, are also discharged into Seneca river.

Canandaigua lake is 15 miles long, and nearly 2 broad. Chatauque lake lies 9 miles from lake Erie, and is 18 miles long and 3 broad. Its waters flow from Conewango creek into the Allegany river. Boats go from the head of this lake to New Orleans.

Otsego and Caniaderago lakes are the two sources of the Susquehannah. The first is 9 miles long and 1 wide. The other is nearly as large. Oswegatchie lake is 18 miles long, and nearly parallel with the St. Lawrence.

SEC. VIII. *Islands.* The principal islands are, *Long Island*, east of the city of New York; *Staten Island*, west of New York bay; *Manhattan* or *York Island*, on which the city of New York stands; and *Grand Island*, in the Niagara river.

Long Island is about 140 miles long, and, on an average, about 10 broad. It is separated from Connecticut by the Sound, from York Island by East river, and from Staten Island by the Narrows. A ridge of hills extends through the north side, but the island is generally level. The soil is poor, and, in many places, not worth cultivating.

Manhattan is 15 miles long, and from 1 to 2 in width. It is separated from the Jersey shore by Hudson's, and from Long Island by East river.

Staten Island, 9 miles south of Manhattan, is 18 miles long and from 6 to 7 broad. It is generally rough and hilly. On the south side is a considerable tract, which is level, and tolerably fertile.

Grand Island is 6 miles long and 3 broad. It has a good soil. The south end is 4 miles from Buffalo.

CHAP. II.

NATURAL GEOGRAPHY—CONTINUED.

*Mineralogy. Salt Springs. Medicinal Waters
Botany. Natural Curiosities.*

SEC. I. *Mineralogy.* The mineral resources of the state have, as yet, been very imperfectly investigated, and many parts of this extensive country remain totally unexplored. Wherever inquiries have been made, they have generally resulted in the most brilliant success.

Of *Iron* there is an inexhaustible quantity in the Highlands, and in different parts of the state, as far as Indian river, or the west branch of the Oswegatchie. The ore on the borders of lake Champlain and in the Highlands gives a metal of a very superior quality.

Marble of great value, on account of its quality and color, abounds in the counties of Ulster, Dutchess and Washington. A vein of a dove color, full of scallops, or *pectinites*, has been discovered in the vicinity of Ontario in Jefferson county. Black marble, with white spots, is found at Marbletown in Ulster county, at Granville in Washington county, and at Ticonderoga.

Limestone abounds in various places. *Magnesian Limestone* is found near the city of New York. *Fetid Carbonate of Lime*, in Dutchess county; also, near Ticonderoga, and the Falls of Niagara.

Clay is widely diffused throughout the state, and exists in a considerable number of varieties. Fine white *Pipe-Clay* is found on Black river. *Gypsum* (sulphate of lime) abounds in the western country, and a large vein has been opened in the eastern, a mile above the town of Hudson, and near the river of the same name. That of Onondaga is very pure.

Native *Silver* has been found near Sing Sing, in a small vein. Ores of *Tin* have been discovered in the Highlands, and in the counties of Essex and Clinton. Ores of *Arsenic* are found in Orange county, in the town of Warwick. *Garnet*, of a rose color, exists near Fishkill.

Flint, embedded in limestone, is found at Black Rock, in the Seneca prairies, and near Saratoga Springs. *Quartz*, of which the Esopus millstone is made, is found in the counties of Ulster and Orange. *Argillaceous Slate* is found in Dutchess and Ulster counties. *Coal* exists near the banks of the Hudson, in the town of New Marlborough.

Lead is found in the Highlands, Columbia, Essex, Clinton, Herkimer, Ulster, and several other counties. *Black Lead*, or *Plumbago*, exists near the city of New York, and in the Highlands 60 miles north; also, in the counties of Ulster and Jefferson, and near lake Champlain. *Emery* is found in the vicinity of lake George.

Native *Alum* occurs in several caverns, in which also are found beautiful samples of *Calcareous* and *Silicious Spar*. *Asbestos* is found in Dutchess and Rensselaer counties. A considerable variety of *Ochres*, or *Pigments*, are found in different parts of the state. *Mica* occurs in numerous varieties. *Serpentine* is found in New Lebanon. *Rock Crystal* is abundant. Beds of *Silicious Sand* have been discovered, affording, for the purposes of manufacture, an inexhaustible supply.

SEC. II. *Salt Springs*. The *Salt Springs* occupy a conspicuous place among the mineral resources of this state, and furnish inexhaustible mines of great value. The most important are found in the counties of Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Ontario and Genesee.

The Onondaga salt springs rise in a marsh at the head of the Onondaga, or Salt lake. The water is remarkably impregnated with salt. Fifty gallons yield, by boiling, a bushel of salt, weighing fifty-six pounds. It contains a considerable quantity of lime. In addition to salt, the water contains carbonic acid gas, and a small quantity of sulphuric acid.

The springs most highly impregnated issue from the marsh in a group, at the foot of the declivity on which is built the village of Salina. There are many other salt springs in different parts of the marsh; some along the shores of the lake several miles further down, and others at a considerable distance up the creek. All of these are not, however, equally impregnated with this mineral.

SEC. III. *Medicinal Waters.* New York has long been celebrated for the superior richness and variety of its medicinal waters. Those of Saratoga are, perhaps, unequalled by any in the world. Of *Sulphur Springs* there is an almost infinite diversity, from those of Clifton to the small sulphuretted hydrogen springs everywhere diffused over the regions of clay, shistus and limestone. *Bituminous Springs* occur in Cata-raugus and Allegany counties.

The Saratoga Springs rise out of a shallow vale, or marsh, by the side of a branch of the Kayadarossoras creek. The Congress, High Rock, Columbian, Red, Flat Rock, Washington, Hamilton and President Springs are the most celebrated.

*Congress Spring,** in its medicinal effect, is the most important. The gas, escaping through the water in fine bubbles, gives to the surface the appearance of simmering. When first dipped, the water is remarkably limpid; but, after stand-

* One gallon of the water of Congress Spring gives, on analysis, the following result:

Muriate of Soda, - - - - -	471,5
Carbonate of Lime, - - - - -	178,476
Carbonate of Soda, - - - - -	16,5
Carbonate of Magnesia, - - - - -	3,356
Carbonate of Iron, - - - - -	6,168

Total, 676 grains.

Carbonic acid gas—343 cubic inches.

ing a few hours exposed to the air, it becomes turbid, and deposits a sediment. Its most obvious effect, when taken as a medicine, is that of a cathartic and diuretic.

High Rock Spring is enclosed in a hollow rock of a conical form, that rises about five feet, the base of which is about nine feet in diameter. At the top is a circular opening of near ten inches in diameter, which enlarges downward. The water rises within two feet of the top, and is kept in a state of constant ebullition by the escape of carbonic acid gas, of which this spring contains a larger proportion than any of the others.

This rock seems to have been formed, by concretion, from the particles thrown up by the waters, and is of a spongy texture, soft, and easily broken, though the surface is more compact and hard, of a color approaching to the brown oxyd of iron in a natural state. There is a crack on one side, which is supposed to open a vent for the water below the surface of the earth; and tradition asserts, with every appearance of probability, that, when the spring was first discovered, the water flowed over the top of the rock.

These waters contain muriates of soda and lime, carbonates of lime, magnesia, soda and iron, with large quantities of carbonic acid gas. They are useful in cases of dispepsia, calculous complaints, cutaneous eruptions, and scrofula. They are widely diffused over Saratoga county. Those of Ballston* have long been in high repute, and are much frequented.

The *Clifton Springs* are in Farmington, 12 miles from Geneva. The principal issues are 3 large springs. The rocks around them are calcareous, filled with impressions

* One gallon of the water from the principal fountain at Ballston Spa gives—

Muriate of Soda, - - - - -	159,
Carbonate of Soda, - - - - -	9,
Carbonate of Lime, - - - - -	75,5
Carbonate of Magnesia, - - - - -	2,5
Carbonate of Iron, - - - - -	7,

Total, 253 grains

Carbonic acid gas—210 cubic inches.

generally imputed to petrifaction of testaceous shells. Where one of them rises is a spot 5 or 6 rods in diameter, completely covered with mineral precipitates, principally sulphur, which is found to be in some places near 6 feet deep.

These waters are strongly impregnated with sulphur. When first dipped, they are perfectly transparent, but become opaque by standing, and assume a yellowish cream color, as the precipitates form. These consist of sulphur and carbonate of lime. In this state, they emit great quantities of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, which diffuses a scent to a very considerable distance.

Chappequa Spring is a chalybeate at mount Pleasant, 3 miles from Hudson's river, and 30 from New York. On a mountain near Newbury, there is a mineral spring, whose waters create sickness and nausea. It is said to contain copper; and around it a flame has been seen, as if issuing from the earth. The *Seneca Oil*, from Cataraugus and Allegany counties, is a petroleum very nearly resembling the *British Oil* of commerce. There are warm springs at New Lebanon in Columbia county, and near Flushing in Long Island,

SEC. IV. *Botany.* The common forest trees are the varieties of oak, ash, walnut, pine, maple, beech, chestnut, birch, poplar, cherry, cedar, elm, hemlock, sumach, &c. Of shrubs and plants, the most noted are wild hops, fox-grapes, ginseng, sarsaparilla, snakeroot, spikenard, mandrake, wild gooseberry, and cranberry.

The greatest proportion of timber in the western country consists of oak, elm, maple, walnut, beech, butternut, chestnut, cucumber. The indigenous plum-tree yields a fruit of an agreeable flavor, which ripens late in autumn. Four varieties of wild grape grow throughout the whole territory.

In the north-western parts, near the river St. Lawrence and lake Ontario, black and white oak abounds, interspersed with pine and hickory. The natural growth consists of maple,

beech, elm, basswood, and birch. There are numerous tracts covered with pine.

SEC. V. *Natural Curiosities.* The country contains many of those uncommon views, which have been classed under this head. Its noble cataracts, the gloomy recesses of its caverns, the romantic defiles of its mountains and highlands, present many striking and highly interesting scenes.

The Falls of Niagara, and the Genesee, have been previously mentioned. *Glenn's Falls*, on the Hudson, near Kingsbury, are highly picturesque and magnificent. A solid bed of limestone extends across the channel, forming, as the bed of the river sinks down, an irregular precipice. From this, the whole waters of the Hudson descend in broken torrents.

The masses of rock which direct the courses of the waters, and separate their currents, are disposed in horizontal strata. In several places, they are very abrupt, and terminate in a perpendicular wall. Between them are profound openings, through which the torrent forces its way. At the bottom all the streams unite, and proceed in conjunction towards Fort Edward.

The *Cahoes*, or *Great Falls* of the Mohawk, are not unworthy of notice. The river pours over a rock, which extends 900 yards, nearly across the channel, and about 30 feet in height. These falls are about 3 miles from its junction with the Hudson.

There is a singular cave at Rhinebec, in Dutchess county. The entrance, between two large rocks, on the declivity of a steep hill, is a short and small horizontal passage, to a narrow, perpendicular passage, about 10 feet long, from 8 to 10 broad, and 4 high.

A narrow passage conducts from this to a second room, 13 feet long, but higher and broader than the first. Numerous calcareous stalactites depend from the roof of this room, and some stalagmites rise from the floor. These have met in va-

rious places, and formed solid columns, some of them more than two feet in circumference.

"This cave was discovered, in 1792, by a lad, accidentally passing near its entrance. On prying into the gloomy recess, he saw a ladder placed in a perpendicular passage, at the foot of which he found several pieces of cloth, and bits of leather scattered about the floor. Probably it had been the resort, during the war, of some of that numerous class of mankind, who find daylight a serious inconvenience."*

In Ulster county is a cavern of greater dimensions than any other yet explored in this country. Its length is estimated at three quarters of a mile, and its breadth varies from twenty to forty feet. It is at least twenty feet in height. A stream, which issues from the mountain to the north-west, turns two mills before it runs through it. It emerges about a quarter of a mile from the Roudout creek, and falls into it.

The passage into the cavern is at a considerable distance from its western extremity. It is very narrow, and so precipitous as to occasion some difficulty in descending. It is evident, from the form of the blocks of stone, which lie under the opening, that it has been made by the splitting of the rock from the expansion of ice in its cavities.

On the sides and roof of the cavern, which are composed of dark-colored limestone, are seen impressions of shells, calcareous spar, and beautiful white and yellow stalactites, of different size and shape; some of which have the appearance of a honeycomb. A few rods from the opening, on the west side, the cavern divides itself into two vaults of nearly equal dimensions. Near the eastern extremity, there is a fall of water of unknown depth, beyond which no person has yet ventured.

In the south-east part of lake Erie, about 20 rods from the shore, is a curious spring, which boils up from the bottom of the lake. The water is here four and a half feet deep. The water of the spring rises with some force through that of the lake, and may be collected. It takes fire when a brand is thrust into it, and, when drank, proves a powerful emetic.

* Morse.

In Chester, Warren county, is a natural bridge, which gives the name of *Stone Bridge creek* to a small stream that runs under it. This stream rises in Essex county, and enters Chester about 30 rods above the bridge, and immediately falls over a rocky precipice into a large natural basin; whence, turning easterly, it enters the subterranean passage in two branches.

The northern branch enters its passage under an arch of granite 40 feet high, and about 80 feet broad at the base, gradually diminishing in capacity as you descend. A person may follow the stream with ease 156 feet from the entrance, where it becomes so much contracted as to prevent any farther progress.

At a short distance, the southern and principal branch enters its passage amidst a heap of stones and rubbish, that almost conceals the entrance, and with difficulty its passage has been explored. It is in some places much confined, and, in others, opens into caverns of 30 or 40 feet diameter, and filled with water to a great depth. At the distance of 247 feet from the entrance, the waters disembogue in one stream, having united in the subterranean passage; and here a precipice of rock 57 feet high terminates the bridge. The arch through which the water is discharged is about 10 feet wide, and 5 in height.

In Willsborough, on lake Champlain, is a remarkable "Split Rock." The whole coast of the lake, for a number of miles, is formed by rude and rocky mountains, which seem to hang over the water, and threaten the passing sailor. From one extremity of these cliffs, a rocky promontory projected about 50 yards into the lake.

By some violent convulsion of nature, it has been broken off, and removed from the main rock about 20 feet. The opposite sides exactly fit each other, the prominences of each corresponding perfectly with the cavities of the other. The point broken off contains about half an acre, and is covered with wood. The height of the rock above the water, on each side of the fissure, is about 12 feet.

Under the head of *Curiosities* may also be included those giant productions of our forests, for which some parts of our

state have been so much celebrated. A black walnut-tree, near the mouth of the creek to which it has given name, measures twenty-seven feet in circumference. The trunk, to the height of seventy feet, is straight, destitute of limbs, and diminishes very little in diameter.

In Reading is a white oak, which measures seventeen feet six inches in circumference six feet from the ground. It is perfectly erect, and diminishes very little for fifty feet. In Mentz, there is a hollow buttonwood-tree, which is thirty-three feet in circumference three feet from the ground. Elder Smith preached to an audience of thirty-five persons in the cavity of this tree, and asserted, that it would have held fifteen more. Its diameter is seventeen feet. There is another in Oswego, which measures thirty-five feet six inches in circumference two feet from the ground, and is now in a growing and healthy condition.

CHAP. III.

NATURAL GEOGRAPHY—CONTINUED.

NATIVE ANIMALS.

Mastodon. Moose. Bear. Wolf. Cougar.
Wolverene. Catamount. Wildcat. Raccoon.
Marten. Deer. Fox. Hare. Rabbit. Por-
cupine. Woodchuck. Skunk. Weasel. Squir-
rel. Mouse. Ermine. Beaver. Musk-rat.
Mink. Otter. Fish. Birds. Insects. Ser-
pents and Reptiles.

SEC. I. The uncultivated state of the country, previous to its settlement by Europeans, was highly favourable to the production of animal life. The immense forests, which extended over every part of the state, formed the residence of a great variety and number of animals. Compared with the same kinds of animals in Europe, they were in disposition more mild and temperate, and far superior* in magnitude, strength and vital energy.

* The following table gives the weight of several kinds of animals in America and Europe :

	<i>In Europe.</i>	<i>In America.</i>
The Bear, - - - - -	153 lb. 7 oz.	456 lb.
Wolf, - - - - -	69 8	92
Deer, - - - - -	288 8	308
Fox, red - - - - -	13 5	20
Porcupine, - - - - -	2 2	16
Martin, - - - - -	1 9	5 4 oz.
Beaver, - - - - -	18 5	63 8
Otter, - - - - -	8 9	29 8
Hare, - - - - -	7 6	8
Rabbit, - - - - -	3 4	7
Weasel, - - - - -	2 2	2
Ermine - - - - -	2 8	14

Fed by the luxuriant productions of a fertile soil, and unmolested, but by a few, and unarmed men, they increased and multiplied with astonishing rapidity.

SEC. II. Of quadrupeds, there were about forty kinds. Most of these have, at present, either entirely disappeared, or are found only in the northern, and more mountainous regions.

The principal quadrupeds were the mastodon, or mammoth, moose, bear, wolf, wolverene, cougar, catamount, raccoon, marten, deer, fox, hare, rabbit, porcupine, woodchuck, skunk, weasel, ermine, squirrel and mouse. The beaver, otter, musk-rat and mink are amphibious. Some of the most interesting of these will be described.

SEC. III. The *Mastodon*, or *Mammoth*, first excites our attention. This name has been applied to an animal now extinct, the remains of which are found in the counties of Ulster, Orange and Rockland, in this state, and in various other parts of America. It in some respects resembled the elephant, but was of a distinct species from that animal, and of five or six times its magnitude. It has been supposed by some, from the form of the teeth, to be carnivorous, but, from other indications, we are compelled to adopt the contrary opinion. An almost entire skeleton has been collected, which weighs about one thousand pounds.

The height of this skeleton, over the shoulders, is 11 feet, the hip 9. Length, from the chin to the rump, 15 feet; from the point of the tusks to the end of the tail, following the exterior curve, 31 feet; in a straight line, 17 feet 6 inches. Length of the under jaw, 2 feet 10 inches. It weighs 63*1/2* lbs.

The tusks are 10 feet 7 inches long, and a single tooth weighs 4 lb. 10 ounces.

"The emotions experienced, when, for the first time, we behold the giant relics of this great animal, are those of unmixed awe. We cannot avoid reflecting on the time when this huge frame was clothed with its peculiar integuments, and moved by appropriate muscles; when the mighty heart dashed forth its torrents of blood through vessels of enormous caliber, and the mastodon strode along in supreme dominion over every tenant of the wilderness."

"However we examine what is left to us, we cannot help feeling, that this animal must have been endowed with a strength exceeding that of other quadrupeds as much as it exceeded them in size; and, looking at its ponderous jaws, armed with teeth peculiarly fitted for the most effectual crushing of the firmest substances, we are assured, that its life could only be supported by the destruction of vast quantities of food."

"Enormous as were these creatures during life, and endowed with faculties proportioned to the bulk of their frames, the whole race has been extinct for ages. No tradition nor human record has been saved, and, but for the accidental preservation of a comparatively few bones, we should never have dreamed that a creature of such vast size and strength once existed, nor could we have believed that such a race had been extinguished forever."

"Such, however, is the fact—ages after ages have rolled away—empires and nations have arisen, flourished, and sunk into irretrievable oblivion, while the bones of the mastodon, which perished long before the periods of their origin, have been discovered, scarcely changed in color, and exhibiting all the marks of perfection and durability.

"That a race of animals so large, and consisting of so many species, should become entirely and universally extinct, is a circumstance of high interest;—for it is not with the mastodon as with the elephant, which still continues to be a living genus, although many of its species have become extinct. The entire race of the mastodon has been utterly

destroyed, leaving nothing but the "mighty wreck" of their skeletons, to testify that they once were among the living occupants of this land.

"The situations whence these bones have been most commonly obtained, appear to have greatly contributed to their preservation. They have generally been dug from beneath a considerable mass of mud, or marl, where they have long soaked in fluids charged with saline and other impregnations. Thus they have been equally protected against the effects of detrition and vicissitudes of weather, and most of the bones found are in every respect perfect, with the exception of an unimportant change in color. This circumstance is almost universally observed of the bones contained in the different cabinets of this country; when scraped or cut, they exhale an odor remarkably similar to that produced by the same treatment of a recent bone.

"There are several circumstances leading us almost to despair of ever procuring the upper part of the skull, which, on account of its comparative thinness and weakness, as well as the fact of its being always found much nearer the surface, must be among the first parts to decay, and be irrecoverably lost. No specimen has yet been obtained more perfect than the one the dimensions of which are given above, and this has no part of the skull above the zygomatic arches. In this, as in all the individuals discovered, the top of the head was so far decayed and destroyed as to prevent the least idea being formed as to its figure or elevation.

"Enough of the head has fortunately been preserved to make us fully acquainted with the dentition of this great animal, and enable us to decide on the general nature of its food, and habits of living. Without the aid derived from this source, we should still be in doubt, and have nothing to guide us to a satisfactory conclusion, although the analogy in size and general configuration might have served to produce the inference, that the animal was, in other respects, most nearly allied to the elephant, rhinoceros, or hippopotamus."*

SEC. IV. The largest living animal found within the limits of the state was the *Moose*. They were of two kinds, and belong to the same species with the elk. The black are said to have been from eight to twelve feet high.* The gray are, generally, as tall as a horse, and some much taller. Both have spreading, palmated horns, which are shed annually, and weigh from thirty to forty pounds. The largest of these animals were estimated by the hunters to weigh from thirteen to fourteen hundred pounds. It has long ceased to be an inhabitant of our forests.

The head of the moose is large, the neck short, with a thick, short and upright mane. The eyes are small, the ears long, very broad and thick. Under the throat there is a fleshy protuberance, from which grows a tuft of long hair; the nostrils are large; the upper lip square, and hangs over the lower. The horns, when fully grown, are about four or five feet from the head to the extremity. The hoofs of the moose are cloven, and, while running, their rattling is heard at a considerable distance. The food of this animal is grass, shrubs, the boughs and bark of trees, especially the birch, which they seem to prefer above all others, and a species of maple, which is called *moose-wood*.

“The moose, like his kindred species, is a harmless and peaceful animal, except in the season when the sexes seek each other. Then the males display a fierceness and pugnacity, which forms a strong contrast to their ordinary actions; were they examined only during such seasons, the character of the species would be entirely misconceived. Under the influence of this powerful, though temporary excitement, the males battle furiously with each other, and resist the aggressions of man himself with vigor and effect.

“In the summer, the moose frequents swampy or low grounds

* Morse.

near the margins of lakes and rivers, through which they delight to swim, as it frees them, for the time, from the annoyance of insects. They are also seen wading out from the shores, for the purpose of feeding on the aquatic plants which rise to the surface of the water. At this season, they regularly frequent the same place in order to drink, of which circumstance the Indian hunter takes advantage to lie in ambush, and secure the destruction of the deer. At such drinking-places as many as eight or ten pairs of moose horns have been picked up.

“During the winter, the moose, in families of fifteen or twenty, seek the depths of the forests for shelter and food. Such a herd will range throughout an extent of about 500 acres, subsisting upon the mosses attached to the trees, or browsing the tender branches of saplings, especially of the tree called *moose-wood*. The Indians name parts of the forests thus occupied moose-yards.

“The horns of the moose spread out almost immediately from their base into a broad palmation: in old animals they increase to a large size, and have been known to weigh 56 pounds, each horn being 32 inches long. The horns are generally cast in the month of November. The Indians employ them for various purposes, cutting them into spoons, scoops, &c.

“When chased, the moose throws his horns towards his neck, elevates his nose, and dashes swiftly into the thickest of the forest. Occasionally the horns prove the means of his destruction, by being entangled among vines, or caught between small trees. Where the moose runs over a plain, he moves with great celerity, although his gait is nothing better than a sort of long stumbling trot: this, however, is rendered very efficient by the great length of his limbs. While running in this manner, the divisions of the hoofs, which are very long, separate as they press the ground, and close together, as they are raised, with a clattering sound, which may be heard to some distance: this circumstance is also remarked in the reindeer.

“Notwithstanding the ease and swiftness of their movements,

they would be easily captured, if pursued by horsemen and hounds, in a country adapted to such a chase, as they are both short-breathed and tender-footed.

“ The acuteness of their sense of hearing, thought to be that which is possessed by the moose in the greatest perfection, together with the keenness of their smell, renders it very difficult to approach them. The Indians attempt it by creeping among the trees and bushes, always keeping to leeward of the deer. In summer, when they resort to the borders of lakes and rivers, the Indians often kill them while crossing the streams, or when swimming from the shore to the islands. ‘ They are,’ says Hearne, ‘ when pursued in this manner, the most inoffensive of all animals, never making any resistance ; and the young ones are so simple, that I remember to have seen an Indian paddle his canoe up to one of them, and take it by the poll, without the least opposition ; the poor, harmless animal seeming, at the same time, as contented along side the canoe as if swimming by the side of its dam, and looking up in our faces with the same fearless innocence that a house lamb would, making use of its fore foot almost every instant to clear its eyes of mosquitoes, which at that time were remarkably numerous.’

“ The flesh of the moose, though generally coarser and tougher than other venison, is esteemed excellent food ; and the Indians, hunters and travellers all declare, they can withstand more fatigue while fed on this meat than when using any other. The large and gristly extremity of the nose is accounted an epicurean treat, and the tongue of the animal is also highly praised, notwithstanding it is not commonly so fat and delicate as the tongue of the common deer. As the moose feeds upon the twigs, buds, and small branches of the willow, birch, poplar, mosses, aquatic plants, &c., its flesh must be peculiarly flavored. ‘ The fat of the intestines is hard, like suet, but all the external fat is soft, like that of a breast of mutton, and, when put into a bladder, is as fine as marrow. In this they differ from all the other species of deer, of which the external fat is as hard as that of the kidneys.’* The female moose never has any horns ; they bring forth their young, ‘ from one to three in number, in the latter end of April, or beginning of May.’*

* Hearne.

"The male moose often exceeds the largest horse in size and bulk. The females are much less than the males, and differently colored. The hair of the male is long and soft, like that of a common deer: it is black at tip, but within it is of an ash color, and at the base pure white. The hair of the female is of a sandy brown color, and in some places, especially under the throat, belly and flank, is nearly white at tip, and altogether so at base.

"The moose, like other deer inhabiting the northern regions, is exceedingly annoyed by insects, which not only feast upon its blood, but deposit their eggs in different parts of its body, along the spine, within the cavities of the nose, mouth, &c. These eggs, when hatched, form large larvae or maggots, that feed on the parts within which they are placed, until ready to assume their perfect or winged condition, when they perforate the skin, and take flight. So great a number of such perforations are made at certain seasons, that the skins of the moose are rendered worthless to the hunter, unless it be for the purpose of cutting them into thongs for nets, and other uses."*

SEC. V. The *Bear* was one of the most common animals, and always of a black color. It was carnivorous, but less fierce and sanguinary than has been generally supposed. Its greatest weight is about four hundred and fifty pounds. It has disappeared in most parts of the state, but is occasionally found in the northern and mountainous regions.

The bear has short legs, with a thick, clumsy body; is generally fat, and is very fond of vegetable food, such as sweet apples, corn, berries, grapes, &c. He frequently destroys the smaller domestic animals, but seldom attacks man without provocation. But, when wounded, he turns on the aggressor with great fury, and defends himself desperately. The sight and hearing appear to be the most acute of his senses; and, although he kills many small animals, he does not follow them by the smell. When he walks, his gait is heavy, and apparently awkward, and, when

* Godman

running, is not much less so, but his strength of body enables him to move with considerable celerity for a long time.

“If taken young, the bear is readily domesticated, and taught numerous tricks. We see him frequently exhibited by itinerant showmen, as a ‘learned’ bear, though it requires a long continuance of severe and cruel discipline to bring him to this state of ‘improvement.’ In captivity, they are always remarkable for the persevering manner in which they keep moving backward and forward at the extremity of their chain, thus expressing their impatience of confinement, or, rather, as if solicitous to take exercise.

“This feeling of the necessity of exercise is manifested in an especial manner when the animal is confined in a very small cage, where he has not room even to turn entirely round. Under such circumstances, he perseveringly moves himself in every direction that his narrow limits allow, stepping with his fore feet first to one side, and then to the other; and, finally, by raising and depressing his body quickly, as if jumping from the ground, he gives his whole frame a degree of exercise, which must tend to the preservation of his health and strength.

“The females bring forth their young in the winter time, and exhibit for them a degree of attachment which nothing can surpass. They usually have two cubs, which are suckled until they are well grown. The fondness existing between the mother and cubs seems to be mutual, and no danger can separate her from them, nor any thing short of death itself induce her to forsake them.

“Near the old village of *Catharine*, in this state, a young man of seventeen, passing through the woods early in the morning, met with a young cub, which he pursued and caught, and, seizing it by the heels, swung it against a log repeatedly, to kill it. The noise it made alarmed the dam, and the lad, lifting his eyes, saw a large bear making towards him with great fury. Dropping the cub, he seized his gun in time to discharge the contents, which only wounded her, when, instantly clubbing the musket, he belabored her on the sides, snout, head, &c., till the stock of the gun was shivered, and the barrel wrenched and twisted in an ex-

traordinary manner. After a sustained combat, in which the bear tore his clothes to pieces, and scratched him severely, he took an opportunity (when, from the bleeding of her wounds and weakness, she began to flag) to run away for assistance. On returning with his master, they killed the old bear and both her cubs.*

" The following instance occurred in the western part of the state, in the year 1824. The back window of a farm-house was forced open one night, and a considerable quantity of pork carried off. The proprietor, without suspecting the nature of the plunderer, placed a loaded musket opposite the window, having a string so adjusted that the gun would be discharged by any thing attempting to enter the room through the window. During the night the report of the gun was heard, and, in the morning, the body of a large black bear was found at a short distance from the spot where he had received his death wound.

" The black bear, like all the species of this genus, is very tenacious of life, and seldom falls unless shot through the brain or heart. An experienced hunter never advances on a bear that has fallen, without first stopping to load his rifle, as the beast frequently recovers to a considerable degree, and would then be a most dangerous adversary. The skull of the bear appears actually to be almost impenetrable, and a rifle ball, fired at a distance of ninety-six yards, has been flattened against it, without appearing to do any material injury to the bone. The best place to direct blows against the bear is upon his snout; when struck elsewhere, his dense, woolly coat, thick hide and robust muscles render manual violence almost entirely unavailing.

" When the bear is merely wounded, it is very dangerous to attempt to kill him with such a weapon as a knife or tomahawk, or, indeed, any thing which may bring one within his reach. In this way, hunters and others have paid very dearly for their rashness, and barely escaped with their lives. The following instance may serve as an example of the danger of such an enterprise:—

“ ‘ Mr. Mayborne, who resides in Ovid township, Cayuga county, went, one afternoon, through the woods in search of his horses, taking with him his rifle, and the only load of ammunition he had in the house. On his return home, about an hour before dusk, he perceived a very large bear crossing the path, on which he instantly fired, and the bear fell, but, immediately recovering his legs, made for a deep ravine a short way onwards. Here he tracked him awhile by his blood, but, night coming on, and expecting to find him dead in the morning, he returned home. A little before daybreak the next morning, taking a pitchfork and hatchet, and his son, a boy of ten or eleven years of age, with him, he proceeded to the place in quest of the animal.

“ ‘ The glen, or ravine, into which he had disappeared the evening before, was eighty or ninety feet from the top of the bank to the brook below. Down this precipice a stream of three or four yards in breadth is pitched in one unbroken sheet, and, forming a circular basin or pool, winds away among the thick underwood. After reconnoitring every probable place of retreat, he at length discovered the bear, who had made his way up the other side of the ravine, as far as the rocks would admit, and sat under a projecting cliff, steadfastly eyeing the motions of his enemy.

“ ‘ Mayborne, desiring his boy to remain where he was, took the pitchfork, and, descending to the bottom, determined, from necessity, to attack him from below. The bear kept his position until the man approached within six or seven feet, when, on the instant, instead of being able to make a stab with the pitchfork, he found himself grappled by the bear, and both together rolled towards the pond, at least twenty or twenty-five feet, the bear biting on his left arm, and hugging him almost to suffocation. By great exertion, he thrust his right arm partly down his throat, and, in that manner, endeavored to strangle him, but was once more hurled headlong down through the bushes, a greater distance than before, into the water. Here, finding the bear gaining on him, he made one desperate effort, and drew the animal’s head partly under water, and, repeating his exertions, at last weakened him so much, that, calling to his boy, who stood on the other side in a

state little short of distraction for the fate of his father, to bring him the hatchet, he sunk the edge of it, by repeated blows, into the brain of the bear. This man, although robust and muscular, was scarcely able to crawl home, where he lay for nearly three weeks, the flesh of his arm being much crushed, and his breast severely mangled. The bear weighed upwards of four hundred pounds.'

"The black bear, in common with other species of this genus, endeavors to suffocate an adversary by violently hugging and compressing its chest. A man might end such a struggle in a few instants, if one hand be sufficiently at liberty to grasp the throat of the animal with the thumb and fingers, externally, just at the root of the tongue, as a slight degree of compression there will generally suffice to produce a spasm of the glottis, that will soon suffocate it beyond the power of offering resistance or doing injury."*

SEC. VI. The *Wolf* was frequently met with, and also the most noxious of our native animals. The color of the wolf is a dirty gray, and in general form he resembles the dog, or is, perhaps, more properly, that animal in its natural state. It is carnivorous, extremely fierce and sanguinary. He is now found only in the northern and unsettled parts of the state.

The wolf has a long head, pointed nose, sharp and erect ears, a short thick neck, with sharp and strong teeth. His eyes generally appear sparkling, and his countenance is expressive of great wildness and ferocity. He lives in a state of constant warfare with all other animals, and has, in some instances, ventured his attacks upon men. His greatest weight is about ninety-two pounds.

"The common wolf of America is considered to be the same species as the wolf of Europe, and, in regard to habits and manners, gives every evidence of such an identity. Like all the wild animals of the dog kind, they unite in packs to hunt

* Godman.

down animals which individually they could not master, and, during their sexual season, engage in the most furious combats with each other for the possession of the females.

"The common wolf is possessed of great strength and fierceness, and is what is generally called a cruel animal, tearing the throat of his victim, drinking its blood, and rending it open for the purpose of devouring its entrails. The great strength of its jaws enables the wolf to carry off with facility an animal nearly as large as itself, and makes its bite exceedingly severe and dangerous. Aged or wounded individuals, as well as the hinds and fawns of the deer, sheep, lambs, calves and pigs, are killed by these wolves, and the horse is said to be the only domestic animal which can resist them with success. They gorge, with much greediness, upon all sorts of carrion, which they can discover at great distances; and, where such provision is to be obtained in great plenty, they become fat, and lose their ferocity to a singular degree.

"When this wolf has been caught in a trap, and is approached by man, it is remarked to be exceedingly cowardly, and occasionally suffers itself to be beaten without offering the slightest resistance. If a dog be set upon a wolf thus captured, the assault is patiently endured, so long as his master is present; but, as soon as the wolf is freed from the restraint imposed by the presence of his captor, he springs upon and throttles the dog, which, if not speedily assisted, pays the forfeit of his presumption and temerity with his life. When kept in close confinement, and fed upon vegetable matter, the common wolf becomes tame and harmless, but is very shy, restless and timid, expressing the greatest alarm at the approach of a stranger, and striving to escape from observation. The voice of this wolf is a prolonged and melancholy howl, which, when uttered by numerous individuals at once, is discordant and frightful."*

The *Cougar* has entirely disappeared, or is very rarely met with. This animal was about the size of the wolf, of a gray color, strong, active, fierce and untameable.

* Godman.

"The following account of the destruction of a large cougar, which is still preserved in the New York museum, was given by the late Mr. Scudder. Two hunters, accompanied by two dogs, went out in quest of game, near the Kaatskill mountains. At the foot of a large hill, they agreed to go round it in opposite directions, and, when either discharged his rifle, the other was to hasten towards him, to aid in securing the game. Soon after parting, the report of a rifle was heard by one of them, who, hastening towards the spot, after some search, found nothing but the dog, dreadfully lacerated, and dead. He now became much alarmed for the fate of his companion, and, while anxiously looking around, was horror-struck by the harsh growl of a cougar, which he perceived on a large limb of a tree, crouching upon the body of his friend, and apparently meditating an attack on himself. Instantly he levelled his rifle at the beast, and was so fortunate as to wound it mortally, when it fell to the ground, along with the body of his slaughtered companion. His dog then rushed upon the wounded cougar, which, with one blow of its paw, laid the poor animal dead by its side. The surviving hunter now left the spot, and quickly returned with several other persons, when they found the lifeless cougar extended near the dead bodies of the hunter and the faithful dogs."*

The *Wolverene*, in many respects, resembles the cougar, and, like that animal, has ceased to be an inhabitant of our forests.

"This animal has served as a fruitful theme for exaggeration and fiction, which has continued the longer in proportion to the remoteness of the animal, and the difficulty of ascertaining its real manners. It is true, that ferocity and destructiveness are among its most striking characteristics, and it is known to feed ravenously and fully when it has secured its prey; yet in none of these respects is the wolverene different from numerous other animals, nor is it at all the prodigy that book makers have heretofore represented it to be.

* Godman.

" The strength of the wolverene, joined to its great gust for animal food, causes much trouble to hunters and travellers, who attempt to secure provisions by burying them in the snow, or protect them by covering them with boughs and trunks of trees. It is almost impossible to prevent this creature from finding access to such places of deposit, either by strength or stratagem, and destroying the stock on which the voyager may have counted for his future subsistence and safety. To the hunters, the wolverene is also injurious, by robbing their traps of the animals which are taken in them, before the arrival of the owners. The wolverene is fierce and dauntless, and has been seen to take away from the wolf the carcass of a deer, and, when itself engaged in feeding, has refused to move, though warned of the approach of an armed hunter, who shot it, while standing as if prepared to maintain its prize.

" It is stated in all the books of natural history, that this animal is in the habit of ascending trees, for the purpose of leaping down upon the necks of reindeer and other similar animals; and that it has sagacity enough to carry with it, into the top of the tree, some of the moss of which the deer are fondest, and drop this immediately under it, so as to secure the intended victim, by placing it in the most favorable position for being leaped on. When the deer approaches to pick up this moss, the watchful glutton is said to drop from his perch upon the neck of the animal, drive his crooked claws into the flesh, fasten himself firmly, and, from some deep wound, to drink the blood of the unfortunate deer, until exhaustion and death are produced. Such relations are so frequently repeated of this animal, that they have long ago ceased to be doubted, and it may seem like supererogatory scepticism to doubt on the subject at present. Thus much, however, it is due to truth to state, that we have examined, with some interest, the authorities originating such accounts of the sagacity or instinct of the wolverene, and have not been able to find any thing more satisfactory than mere assertions relative to the European glutton. It is not objected here, that these assertions are unfounded; but they are gratuitous, at least as applied to the wolverene or American

glutton, since Hearne, and other travellers residing in the regions wheré this animal is most abundant, make no mention of any such thing concerning it. The necessity of scepticism, relative to the habits of the wolverene, becomes more obvious, when it is recollectèd, how much of what was formerly believed as unquestionable, has been proved to be a fable, resting on nothing better than the fancy of Olaus Magnus.

"Nothing, however, is better ascertained, than that the wolverene is one of the most destructive animals found in the northern part of this continent. It destroys great numbers of young foxes during summer, while they are small, discovering their burrows by its keen scent, and, if necessary, enlarging the cavity so as to gain access to the bottom of the den, where the mother and cubs are speedily destroyed. The wolverene is not less inimical or destructive to the beaver than other animals, though the habits of the beaver expose it less to this sanguinary quadruped, which is generally successful in securing his prey only when the beaver is caught at any distance from the margin of the water.

"The wolverene is about two feet two inches long, from the end of the nose to the origin of the tail, and the latter is about eight inches in length, if the hair on its extremity be included: without measuring the hair, the length of the tail is about four inches. The fore legs are upwards of eleven inches long, and the hind legs one foot. The face is blackish as high as the eyebrows, and between these and the ears we find a space of a whitish and brownish tint. The ears are covered with harsh hair; the lower jaw, and inside of both fore legs, are spotted with white; the upper part of the back, thighs, and the under part of the belly, are brown, or brownish black. The sides are of a fine chestnut color, from the shoulders to the beginning of the tail. There is a white spot over the navel; the parts of generation are reddish. The short hair of this animal is whitish. The eyes are small and black."*

SEC. VII. The *Catamount* was rarely met with, but, on account of its remarkable ferocity, was much dreaded by the hunters. In general

form, it resembled the cat, but was larger than our largest dogs. It is carnivorous, and, from its sanguinary disposition, was esteemed the most dangerous of our animals. Its weight was estimated at about one hundred pounds. It has almost, if not entirely, disappeared from our forests.

The length of the body, including the head, was about 7 feet; the circumference of the body, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet; length of the tail, 3 feet, and of the legs, about 1 foot. The color, along his back, was nearly black; on the sides, a dark, reddish brown; his feet black. He was not calculated for running, but leaped with surprising agility.

The *Wildcat*, *Raccoon* and *Marten*, now occur only in the most uncultivated parts of the state. The wildcat is, in many respects, similar to our common cats, but larger and stronger. It is of the same disposition and color as the wolf.

SEC. VIII. The *Deer* is one of the most common and valuable of our native animals. It is extremely active, possesses great mildness of disposition, and is easily domesticated. Its greatest weight is about three hundred pounds.

In the spring, it sheds its hair, and appears of a light red; this color gradually becomes darker, until autumn, when it becomes a pale brown. Its horns are slender, round, projecting forwards, and bent into a curve. The horns grow about 2 feet in length, are shed annually, and weigh from 2 to 4 pounds.

“The common deer is more remarkable for general slenderness and delicacy of form, than for size and vigor. The slightness and length of its limbs, small body, long and slim neck, sustaining a narrow and almost pointed head, give the animal an air of feebleness, the impression of which is only to be counteracted by observing the animated eye, the agile and

playful movements, and admirable celerity of its course when its full speed is exerted. Then all that can be imagined of grace and swiftness of motion, joined with strength sufficient to continue a long career, may be realized.

“ The common deer is possessed of keen senses, especially of hearing and smelling. The sight, though good, does not appear to equal in power the senses just named, upon which the safety of the animal most immediately depends.

“ It is therefore necessary for the hunter to approach the deer against the wind, otherwise he is discovered by the scent, at a great distance, and his objects are entirely frustrated. The slightest noise excites the attention of the deer, and his fears appear to be more readily awakened by this cause than any other; while, on the contrary, the sight of unaccustomed objects seems rather to arouse curiosity than to produce terror, as the animal will frequently approach, or stand gazing intently, until the hunter steals close enough to fire with fatal aim.

“ The deer, in herds of various numbers, frequent the forests and plains adjacent to the rivers, feeding principally upon the buds and twigs of trees and shrubs, though they are fond of grass, when their favorite food is not more convenient. The herd is led by one of the largest and strongest bucks, who appears to watch over the general safety, and leads the way on all occasions. When any cause of alarm checks their progress, the leader stamps with his feet, threatens with his horns, and snorts so loudly as to be heard for a very considerable distance. So long as he stands fast, or prepares for combat, the rest of the herd appear to feel secure; but when he gives way, they all follow with precipitation, and vie with each other in the race.

“ The common deer, when startled from a resting place without being much alarmed, moves at first in a singular and amusing manner. With an apparent awkwardness, two or three springs are made, from which the deer alights on three feet, drawing up and extending the limbs in a stiff and peculiar manner. As the tail is erected, this alternate resting upon the feet of opposite sides, causes the tail to describe a semicircle from side to side. A few high bounds are next

made forward, as if with a view to prepare for subsequent exertion, and then, if the cause of alarm be continued, the deer exerts his strength, and dashes off in his swiftest career.

"Although the common deer is generally a very shy and timid animal, they are almost always inclined to fight when wounded or brought to bay. At this time, they fight with their fore feet as well as with their horns, and inflict severe wounds by leaping forward and striking with the edge of their hoofs held together. If a hunter falls on the ground in attempting to close in and despatch a wounded deer with his knife, he is in great danger of being killed by such blows as we have described. This deer is also said by the hunters to evince a very strong degree of animosity towards serpents, and especially to the rattlesnake, of which it has an instinctive horror. In order to destroy one of these creatures, the deer makes a bound into the air, and alights upon the snake with all four feet brought together in a square, and these violent blows are rapidly repeated until the hated reptile is destroyed.

"The combats in which the males engage with each other are frequently destructive of the lives of both, in a way that would not readily be anticipated. In assaulting each other furiously, their horns come into contact, and, being elastic, they yield mutually to the shock, so that the horns of one animal pass within those of the other, and thus secure them, front to front, in such a manner that neither can escape; and they torment themselves in fruitless struggles, until, worn down by hunger, they perish, or become the prey of wolves or other animals. Heads of deer which have thus perished are frequently found, and there is scarcely a museum in this country which has not one or more specimens."*

There were several varieties of the *Fox*. This animal now occurs in various parts of the state, but its numbers are much diminished.

The *Hare*, *Rabbit*, *Porcupine*, and *Wood-chuck* are occasionally found in most parts of the state.

* Godman.

The porcupine weighs about 16 pounds, and is distinguished for the quills, with which he is armed. These quills are about the size of those of the pigeon, and from two to four inches long. When attacked by an enemy, the porcupine places his head between his fore feet, and erects his quills around him in the form of a hemisphere.

The quills are so loosely inserted in his flesh, and of such a peculiar construction, that they are easily extracted, and, like a barbed dart, stick fast, and work themselves into the flesh of any animal that touches their extremities; nor can they be easily withdrawn, without tearing the flesh, but by incision. The color of this animal is gray, and his motion extremely slow.

SEC. IX. The *Skunk* was common to all parts of the state, and still frequently occurs. It is remarkable for being furnished with organs for secreting and retaining a fluid volatile and fetid beyond any thing known. He has the power of emitting this to the distance of several paces, when necessary for his defence. When this ammunition is expended, he is quite harmless. This volatile fetor is a powerful antispasmodic.

This animal is about a foot and a half long, of a moderate height, and size in proportion to its length. His tail is long and bushy; his hair long and chiefly black, but on his head, neck and back, are found spots of white without any regularity or uniformity. His sight is imperfect during the day time, and he seeks his food, consisting mostly of beetles and other insects, in the evening, at which time he often visits farm-houses, for the purpose of committing depredations upon poultry.

SEC. X. The *Weasel*, and numerous varieties of the *Squirrel* and *Mouse*, are still common to most parts of the state. The *Ermine* is rarely found, and is one of the most beautiful inhabitants of the forest.

The ermine, in form, dimensions and activity, resembles the

weasel, but is rather larger. Its weight is about 14 ounces, and its color a beautiful white. The tail is tipped with black, and some have a stripe of dark brown, or mouse color, extending along the back from the head to the tail. This beautiful animal has the most fine and delicate fur that can be imagined.

SEC. XI. The *Beaver* was formerly common, and its fur, in the early period of our history, formed an important article of trade. It is amphibious, but cannot live for any length of time under water; it can live without it, provided it has the occasional convenience of bathing. The largest beavers formerly found were four feet in length, and weighed from 50 to 60 pounds. Those found in later years weigh from 25 to 30 pounds. This social and industrious animal has left many vestiges of its ingenuity and skill, though now principally driven from our territory.

“The head of this animal is large, and his ears short and round. Their fore teeth are prominent, long, broad, strong, and grooved, or hollowed, like a gouge. Their fore legs are short, with toes separate; their hinder legs are long, with toes webbed. The tail is large, broad, and scaly, resembling the body of a fish. Their color is generally a dark brown, but varies according to the climate they inhabit. Their hair is long and coarse; the fur very thick, fine and highly valued. The castor used in medicine is found in sacs formed behind the kidneys.”

“The general aspect of the beaver, at first view, would remind one of a very large rat, and, seen at a little distance, it might be readily mistaken for the common musk-rat. But the greater size of the beaver, the thickness and breadth of its head, and its horizontally-flattened, broad and scaly tail, render it impossible to mistake it for any other creature, when closely examined. In its movements, both on shore and in the water, it also closely resembles the musk-rat, having the same quick step, and swimming with great vigor and celerity, either on the surface or in the depths of the water.

"In a state of captivity or insulation, the beaver is a quiet, or, rather, stupid animal, evincing about as much intelligence as a tamed badger, or any other quadruped which can learn to distinguish its feeder, come when called, or grow familiar with the inmates of the house where it is kept. It is only in a state of nature that the beaver displays any of those singular modes of acting, which have so long rendered the species celebrated. These may be summed up in a statement of the manner in which they secure a sufficient depth of water to prevent it from being frozen to the bottom, and their mode of constructing the huts in which they pass the winter.

"They are not particular in the site they select for the establishment of their dwellings, but if in a lake or pond, where a dam is not required, they are careful to build where the water is sufficiently deep. In standing waters, however, they have not the advantage afforded by a current, for the transportation of their supplies of wood, which, when they build on a running stream, is always cut higher up than the place of their residence, and floated down."*

They most commonly, however, prefer to locate their residence in some small brook or rivulet, where they obtain sufficient depth of water by means of a dam. When they commence the erection of a dam, they "select a number of saplings, of soft wood, generally of less than 6 inches in diameter, but sometimes of 16 or 18 inches. These they fell, and divide into proper lengths, and place them in the water, so that the length of the sticks make the width of the dam. These sticks they lay in mud or clay, their tails serving them for trowels, as their teeth did for axes. These dams are six or eight feet thick at bottom; sloping on the side opposed to the stream; and are about a quarter as broad at top as at bottom. Near the top of the dam, they leave one or more waste-ways, or sliding-places, to carry off the surplus water.

"The formation of their cabins is no less remarkable. They consist of two stories, one under, the other above water. They are shaped like the oval bee-hive, and of a size proportioned to the number of inhabitants. The walls of the lower apartment

are two or three feet thick, formed like their dams; those of the upper story are thinner; and the whole on the inside plastered with mud. Each family constructs its own cabin. The upper apartments are curiously strewed with leaves, rendered neat, clean and comfortable.

“The winter never surprises these animals before their business is completed; for their houses are generally finished by the last of September, and their stock of provisions laid in, which consists of small pieces of wood deposited in the lower apartments. Before a storm, all hands are employed in repairing or strengthening their dams. In summer, they roam abroad, and feed on leaves, twigs and food of this kind. The beavers are considered as the same species with those in Europe, but are in every respect vastly superior.”*

SEC. XII. The *Musk-Rat* is about 15 inches in length, and 1 foot in circumference. It is frequently found, is of a dark color, with short hair. It is furnished with glands which secrete a substance that has the smell of musk. In his manner of living, he is a distant imitator of the beaver.

The *Mink* is about 16 inches long, and in general form resembles the weasel. It is of a dark color, and burrows in the vicinity of water. It is still found in most parts of the state.

The *Otter* very much resembles the mink in form and habits. Its color is not so dark, but its size is much greater. It is now seldom met with.

Neither of these animals, though classed as amphibious, can live any considerable length of time under water.

SEC. XIII. Of *Fish*, the waters of this state present a numerous list. They are, however,

* Morse.

rapidly diminishing. The *Salmon* has long since ceased to visit the Hudson. Our western waters supply the salmon of the lakes in great abundance, while the northern abound with several varieties of *Trout*.

Shoals of *Shad* and *Herring* annually visit the Hudson, and the *Sturgeon* may be said to abound, and is nowhere better than in this river. In the southern part of this state, the variety of fish is very great, having the stores of the Atlantic. No fish-market in the world is better supplied than that of New York. The *Oysters* have a high reputation.

Bass, Pike, and a considerable variety of others, visit Albany, but neither the Hudson nor Mohawk can be called good for fish. The Oneida is the best fishing-ground of any of our small western lakes. The Muscanunge, Flack-fish, the Pike, or Pickerel of the western lakes, are much esteemed. The Cat-fish makes excellent eating when skilfully dressed.

SEC. XIV. The number of *Birds*, that visit this widely-extended and diversified territory, or reside in it, is surprisingly great. Long Island alone presents a catalogue of more than 150 species, besides many others, that remain there but a small part of the season. The *Virginia Nightingale*, the most elegant songster of the American forest, and numerous other migratory birds, spend the summer in our western regions.

Of *Insects* there is a considerable number of varieties. During the warm season, the earth and atmosphere teem with these specimens of animated nature. They are, however, for the

most part, neither venomous, nor otherwise injurious.

Of *Serpents* and *Reptiles* the number is small. The *Rattlesnake* is the only one which is poisonous, and its numbers, never great, are rapidly diminishing. The *Black* snake, *Water* snakes, small *Striped* snake and *Green* snake, with several others, perfectly inoffensive, are occasionally found.

CHAP. IV.

VIEW OF THE COUNTRY

AT THE TIME OF ITS DISCOVERY BY HUDSON.

State of the Country. Aborigines. Religion and Superstitions. Iroquois. Their Confederacy. Antiquities. Inference. Their Authors, and Origin of the Indian Race.

SEC. I. At the period of Hudson's discovery, the country was mostly in an unimproved state. From its general appearance, and from the traditions of its inhabitants, we infer, that it had previously continued in this situation for a long succession of ages.

No traces of recent civilization enlivened the dreary waste. A few scattered villages, comprising a limited number of habitations, of the most imperfect construction, and some feeble and ill-directed attempts at agriculture, announced the more frequented haunts of savage life; but by far the greater part of this extensive territory was covered by an unbroken wilderness.

The several varieties of game, and the spontaneous productions of the earth, were everywhere numerous and abundant. The luxuriance of vegetation evinced the fertility of a soil, which required only the hand of art to render it in the highest degree subservient to the wants of man. But the country was inhabited by a race averse to improvement, rude and uncultivated as the

scenery around them. Over this wide-spread profusion of nature's gifts, the *Savage* held uncontrolled dominion, and found in the deep recesses of the forest a safe and welcome retreat.

SEC. II. The original inhabitants of this state were *Indians*. The *Iroquois*,* and the *Delawares*, a tribe of the *Mohekaneews*, were in possession of the territory at the time of Hudson's discovery. They belong to the great family, which has been denominated the *Man of America*. In the appearance and countenance of the Indians, there is an uncommon uniformity and resemblance. They all possess nearly the same distinguishing characteristics, and, together, constitute a distinct race.

Their persons were tall, straight and well-proportioned. Their skins were red or copper-brown; their eyes were small, black and very active; their hair, long, black and coarse. Their features were regular, and well adjusted, but their countenance was expressive of wildness and ferocity. In constitution, they were firm and vigorous, capable of sustaining great fatigue and hardship.

As to general character, they were quick of apprehension, and not wanting in genius. At times, they were friendly, and even courteous. In council, they were distinguished for gravity and eloquence; in war, for bravery and address. When provoked to anger, they were sullen and retired; and when determined upon revenge, no danger would deter them; neither absence nor time

* *Iroquois, The Five Nations.* Afterwards, *The Six Nations.*

could cool them. If captured by an enemy, they never asked life, nor would they betray emotions of fear, even in view of the tomahawk or the kindling fagot.

Hunting, fishing and war constituted the principal employments of the men ; and, when not engaged in these pursuits, or their occasional amusements, they generally passed their time in a state of absolute inactivity. They were averse to agriculture, and considered it a most degrading avocation. The means of subsistence were mostly derived from the chase, and the spontaneous productions of the earth.

“ The *amusements* of the men were principally leaping, shooting at marks, dancing and gaming, in all of which they made the most violent exertions. Their dances were usually performed round a large fire. In their war-dances, they sung the feats which they or their ancestors had achieved ; represented the manner in which they were performed, and wrought themselves up to an inexpressible degree of martial enthusiasm. The females occasionally joined in some of these sports, but had none peculiar to themselves.”

They dressed in the skins of wild beasts, and were fond of ornaments. They arranged the hair in many singular forms, and adorned it with feathers. They perforated the nose and ears, and had pieces of metal, shells or shining stones attached to them. They painted the face and body with different colors and figures.

Their treatment of females was cruel and oppressive. They were considered by the men as slaves, and treated as such. To them were assigned the labors of the field and the services of domestic care. Doomed to incessant toil, they performed their perpetual tasks without pity and without compassion, and often, in return, received the most brutal treatment from their husbands.

They had no written literature except rude hieroglyphics, and, consequently, no records or written laws. Their old men became the depositaries of past experience, and by them their debates were chiefly carried on. Their language was rude, but sonorous, metaphorical and energetic. It was well suited to

the purposes of public speaking, and, when accompanied by the impassioned gestures, and uttered in the deep, guttural tones of the savage, had a singularly wild and impressive effect.

War was considered the most honorable employment, and was carried on chiefly by stratagem and ambuscade. When they fought in the open field, they rushed to the attack with incredible fury, and, at the same time, uttered their appalling war-whoop. Their weapons were bows and arrows, headed with flint or other hard stones, which they discharged with great precision and force.

SEC. III. Their *religious notions* consisted of traditions mingled with many superstitions. They believed in two gods, the one good, who was the superior, and whom they styled the Great Spirit; the other evil. They worshipped both. Besides these, they worshipped various other deities, such as fire, water, thunder, anything which they supposed to be superior to themselves, and capable of doing them injury. Their manner of worship was to sing and dance round large fires.

'The Iroquois, in common with other savage nations, have a fabulous tradition of their origin. The following was formally delivered to Mr. Kirkland in a solemn assembly of the Oneida sachems, and some others of their principal people:—

"Before man existed, there were three great and good Spirits; of whom one was superior to the other two, and is emphatically called the *Great Spirit* and the *Good Spirit*. At a certain time, this exalted Being said to one of the others, 'Make a man.' He obeyed, and, taking chalk, formed a paste of it, and, moulding it into the human shape, infused into it the animating principle, and brought it to the Great Spirit. He, after surveying it, said, 'This is too white.'

"He then directed the other to make a trial of his skill. Accordingly, taking charcoal, he pursued the same process, and

brought the result to the Great Spirit; who, after surveying it, said, 'It is too black.'

"Then said the Great Spirit, 'I will now try myself;' and, taking red earth, he formed a human being in the same manner, surveying it, and said, 'This is a proper (or perfect) man.' These three were the original ancestors of all the white, black and red men of our race."*

The following account given by the Oneidas of their mythology to Mr. Deane, on another occasion, is widely different from the above. It is truly *Indian*, and may be considered characteristic in all its parts.

"An unlimited expanse of water once filled the space now occupied by the world which we inhabit. Here was the abode of total darkness, which no ray of light had ever penetrated. At this time the human family dwelt in a country situated in the upper regions of the air, abounding in every thing conducive to the comfort and convenience of life. The forests were full of game; the lakes and streams swarmed with fish and fowl; while the grounds and fields spontaneously produced a constant profusion of vegetables for the use of man. An unclouded sun enlivened their days; and storms and tempests were unknown in that happy region. The inhabitants were strangers to death, and its harbingers, pain and disease; while their minds were free from the corroding passions of jealousy, hatred, malice and revenge; so that their state was made perfectly happy.

"At length, however, an event occurred, which interrupted their tranquillity, and introduced care and anxiety, until then unknown. A certain youth was noticed to withdraw himself from the circle of their social amusements. The solitary recesses of the grove became his favorite walks; care and chagrin were depicted in his countenance; and his body, from long abstinence, presented to the view of his friends the mere skeleton of a man. Anxious solicitude in vain explored the cause of his grief; until, at length, debilitated both in body and mind, he yielded to the importunity of his associates, and promised to disclose the cause of his trouble, on condition that they would dig up by the roots a certain white-pine-tree, lay him on his

* Dwight.

blanket by the margin of the hole, and seat his wife by his side. In a moment all hands were ready. The fatal tree was taken up by the roots; in doing which the earth was perforated, and a passage opened into the abyss below. The blanket was spread by the hole, the youth laid thereon, and his wife, then in a state of pregnancy, took her seat by his side. The multitude, eager to learn the cause of such strange and unusual conduct, pressed around; when, on a sudden, to their horror and astonishment, he seized upon the woman, and precipitated her headlong into the regions of darkness below; then, rising from the ground, he informed the assembly that he had for some time suspected the chastity of his wife, and that, having now disposed of the cause of his trouble, he should soon recover his usual health and vivacity.

“ All those amphibious animals, which now inhabit this world, then roamed through the watery waste, to which this woman in her fall was hastening. The loon first discovered her coming, and called a council in haste to prepare for her reception; observing that the animal which approached was a human being, and that earth was indispensably necessary for its accommodation. The first subject of deliberation was, who should support the burden. The sea-bear first presented himself for a trial of his strength. Instantly, the other animals gathered round, and scrambled up upon his back; while the bear, unable to support the weight, sunk beneath the surface of the water, and was, by the whole assembly, judged unequal to the task of supporting the earth. Several others, in succession, presented themselves as candidates for the honor, with similar success. Last of all, the turtle modestly advanced, tendering his broad shell as the basis of the earth, now about to be formed. The beasts then made trial of his strength to bear, heaping themselves upon his back; and, finding their united pressure unable to sink him below the surface, adjudged to him the honor of supporting the world.

“ A foundation being thus provided, the next subject of deliberation was, how to procure earth. It was concluded that it must be obtained from the bottom of the sea. Several of the most expert divers went in quest of it, and uniformly floated up dead to the surface of the water. The mink at length undertook the dangerous plunge; and, after a long absence, arose

dead On a critical examination, a small quantity of earth was discovered in one of his claws, which he had scratched from the bottom. This, being carefully preserved, was placed on the back of the turtle.

“ In the mean time the woman continued falling, and at length alighted on the turtle. The earth had already grown to the size of a man’s foot, where she stood with one foot covering the other. Shortly she had room for both feet, and was soon able to sit down. The earth continued to expand, and soon formed a small island, skirted with willow and other aquatic shrubbery; and at length stretched out into a widely extended plain, interspersed with rivers and smaller streams, which, with gentle currents, moved forward their tributary waters to the ocean. She repaired to the sea shore, erected a habitation, and settled in her new abode.

“ Not long after, she had a daughter, and was supported by the spontaneous productions of the earth until the child arrived to adult years. She was then addressed by several animals changed into the forms of young men; but they were rejected successively by the mother, until the turtle offered himself as a suitor, and was received. After she had lain herself down to sleep, the turtle placed two arrows on her body in the form of a cross; one headed with flint, the other with the rough bark of a tree. In due time she had two sons, but died in child-birth.

“ The grandmother, enraged at her daughter’s death, resolved to destroy them, and, taking them both in her arms, threw them into the sea. Scarcely had she reached her weekwam, when the children overtook her at the door. The experiment was several times repeated, but in vain. Discouraged by this ill success, she concluded to let them live. Then, dividing the corpse of her daughter into two parts, she threw them up towards the heavens; where one became the moon, and the other the sun. Then began the succession of day and night in our world.

“ The children speedily became men, and expert archers. The elder, whose name was *Thauwiskalau*, had the arrow of the turtle which was pointed with flint, and killed with it the largest beasts of the forest. The younger, whose name was

Taulonghyauwaugoon, had the arrow headed with bark. The former was, by his malignant disposition, and his skill and success in hunting, a favorite with his grandmother. They lived in the midst of plenty, but would not permit the younger brother, whose arrow was insufficient to destroy any thing larger than birds, to share in their abundance.

“ As this young man was wandering one day along the shore, he saw a bird perched upon a bough, projecting over the water. He attempted to kill it; but his arrow, till that time unerring, flew wide of the mark, and sunk in the sea. He determined to recover it; and, swimming to the spot where it fell, plunged to the bottom. Here, to his astonishment, he found himself in a small cottage. A venerable old man, who was sitting in it, received him with a smile of paternal complacency, and thus addressed him; ‘ My son, I welcome you to the habitation of your father. To obtain this interview, I directed all the circumstances which have conspired to bring you hither. Here is your arrow, and here is an ear of corn, which you will find pleasant and wholesome food. I have watched the unkindness of both your grandmother and your brother. His disposition is malignant and cruel. While he lives, the world can never be peopled. You must therefore take his life. When you return home, you must traverse the whole earth, collect all the flints which you find into heaps, and hang up all the buckshorns. These are the only things of which your brother is afraid, or which can make any impression on his body, which is made of flint. They will furnish you with weapons always at hand, wherever he may direct his course.’

“ Having received these and other instructions from his father, the young man took his leave, and, returning again to the world, began immediately to obey his father’s directions. After a series of adventures, which it is unnecessary here to repeat, the two brothers began a quarrel, in which the elder endeavored to destroy the younger, but, failing of his purpose, was attacked in his turn. As he fled, the earth trembled. A verdant plain, bounded by the distant ocean, lay before him. Behind him the ground sunk in deep valleys and frightful chasms, or rose into lofty mountains and stupendous precipices. The streams ceased to roll in silence, and, bursting their

barriers, poured down the cliffs in cataracts, or foamed through their rocky channels towards the ocean.

"The younger brother followed the fugitive with a vigorous step, and wounded him continually with his weapons. At length, in a far distant region, beyond the savannahs in the southwest, he breathed his last, and loaded the earth with his flinty form.* The great enemy to the race of the turtle being destroyed, they came up out of the ground in the human form, and for some time multiplied in peace, and spread extensively over its surface.

"The grandmother, roused to furious resentment for the loss of her darling son, resolved to be avenged. For many days successively, she caused the rain to descend from the clouds in torrents, until the whole surface of the earth, and even the highest mountains, were covered. The inhabitants fled to their canoes, and escaped the impending destruction. The disappointed grandmother then caused the rains to cease, and the waters to subside. The inhabitants returned to their former dwellings. She then determined to effect her purpose in another manner, and covered the earth with a deluge of snow. To escape this new evil, they betook themselves to their snow-shoes, and thus eluded her vengeance. Chagrined, at length, by these disappointments, she gave up the hope of destroying the whole human race at once, and determined to wreak her revenge upon them in a manner, which, though less violent, should be more efficacious. Accordingly, she has ever since been employed in gratifying her malignant disposition, by inflicting upon mankind the various evils which are suffered in the present world. *Taulonghyauwaugoon*,† on the other hand, displays the infinite benevolence of his nature by bestowing on the human race the blessings which they enjoy, all of which flow from his bountiful providence.

"The Iroquois, and probably all the other Indians, attributed in their superstition not only intelligence, but sanctity, to at

* Supposed to intend the lofty range now called the *Rocky mountains*.

† *Taulonghyauwaugoon*, literally translated, is the '*Holder or Supporter of the heavens.*' This is the Being, who, in Indian speeches, by a corrupt translation, is called the *Great Spirit*, or *Good Spirit*.

least many kinds of animals; probably to all. This, also, was the general apprehension of the Hindoos, and, if I mistake not, of many other Asiatic nations; as it was, also, of the Egyptians. The sanctity of serpents—a doctrine remarkably prevalent among the North American Indians—was a favorite scheme throughout the whole polytheistical world; and images of these animals were formed in great numbers, both within and without the temples dedicated to idol worship.

“The Iroquois professed to be descended from the turtle, the bear and the wolf. This descent, however, was not reckoned from these beings as mere animals, but as intelligences endued with a portion of the divine, or, at least, a superior nature. The divinity ascribed by the Hindoos to the cow, they attributed to the turtle preeminently, to the bear, the wolf, the snake, and many other animals. Nor is there any thing more absurd in this than in Jupiter’s adventure with Europa; the birth of Alexander the Great, as announced by himself; or a multitude of other recitals presented to us in the Greek and Roman fable.

“It is not a mere effort of the imagination to find, even in this monstrous mixture, some remains of real history. The story of the chaos, and the darkness by which it was covered—of paradise, and the happiness with which it was replenished—is not ill told at the beginning of this narrative, if we suppose an Indian to be the narrator. The existence of the deluge is distinctly marked, and the deliverance of the human race from its devastation. A few other facts may also be distinctly discerned by a critical examiner.”*

SEC. IV. The Iroquois constituted a confederated republic, and were among the most remarkable of the American race. They occupied the greater part of this state, and had made considerable advances in the art of government. By their civil combinations and military talents, they acquired the supremacy over the numerous

* Dwight.

and warlike nations by whom they were surrounded.

They* had been in possession of the country for a long time previous to Hudson's discovery, but were not the original inhabitants of this part of North America. The Mohekanews universally considered themselves as the original inhabitants, and styled the Iroquois *interlopers*. The Iroquois are said to have admitted the fact, and gloried in it; asserting that they had fought their way to their present possessions, and acquired their country by conquering all who had resisted them.

That this united declaration is just, is amply supported by facts. The Mohekanews were spread from the neighborhood of the Pacific ocean to the eastern shore of New England; and remains of this nation are now to be found in small tribes, dispersed over a large part of North America. This is proved unanswerably by their language.

The Iroquois were planted in the midst of this widely-extended nation; and appear to have had no other connexion with them than what is involved in wars, conquests and treaties, and nothing in common with them, besides the savage character, and its universal appendages.

At the same time, they were almost invariably at war with some or other of the Mohekanew tribes. With this spirit, and its necessary consequences, it is impossible that they should have made their way through the western branches of the Mohekanews, or, in other words, through enemies dispersed over a territory of near 3000 miles in extent, in any other manner than by conquest.

SEC. V. The confederacy† of the Iroquois consisted, originally, of five nations—the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. The Mohawks had four towns and one small village, situated on or near the fertile banks of the river of that name. The

* Dwight.

† Clinton.

position of the first was the confluence of the Schoharie Creek and Mohawk river. The others were farther to the west.

The Mohawks, from their martial renown and military spirit, have not unfrequently given their name to the whole confederacy, which was often denominated the *Mohawks* in the annals of those days. This nation was always held in the greatest veneration by its associates, and they were declared by the other nations, "the true old heads of the confederacy."

The Oneidas had their principal seat on the south of the Oneida lake; the Onondagas, near the Onondaga, and the Cayugas, near the Cayuga lake. The principal village of the Senecas was near the Genesee river, about 20 miles from Irondequoit bay.

Each nation was divided into three tribes—the Tortoise, the Bear and the Wolf. Each village was a distinct republic, and its concerns were managed by its peculiar chiefs.

Their exterior relations, general interests, and national affairs, were conducted and superintended by a great council, assembled annually at Onondaga, the central canton, composed of the chiefs of each republic; and 80 sachems were frequently convened at this national assembly.

It took cognizance of the great questions of war and peace, and of the affairs of the tributary nations. All their proceedings were conducted with great deliberation, and were distinguished for order, decorum and solemnity.

A prominent feature in the character of the confederates was an exalted spirit of liberty, which revolted with equal indignation at domestic or foreign control. They esteemed themselves as sovereigns, accountable to none but God alone, whom they called the *Great Spirit*. They admitted no hereditary distinctions. The office of sachem was the reward of personal merit, of great wisdom, of commanding eloquence, of distinguished services in the cabinet or in the field.

Whatever superiority the Iroquois might have in war, they never neglected the use of stratagem. The cunning of the fox, the ferocity of the tiger, and the power of the lion, were united in their conduct. They preferred to vanquish their enemy by taking him off his guard, by involving him in an ambuscade; but, when emergencies rendered it necessary for them to face him in the open field, they exhibited a courage and contempt of death, which have never been surpassed.*

“Upon the whole, the Iroquois have been a very extraordinary people. Had they enjoyed the advantages possessed by the Greeks and Romans, there is no reason to believe that they would have been at all inferior to these celebrated nations. Their minds appear to have been equal to any efforts within the reach of man. Their conquests, if we consider their numbers and their circumstances, were little inferior to those of Rome itself. In their harmony, the unity of their operations, the energy of their character, the vastness, vigor and success of their enterprises, and the strength and sublimity of their eloquence, they may be fairly contrasted with the Greeks. Both the Greeks and the Romans, before they began to rise into distinction, had already reached that state of society, in which men are able to improve. The Iroquois had not. The Greeks and Romans had ample means for improvement. The Iroquois had none.”†

SEC. VI. In the western and interior parts of the state, the remains of fortifications and other works of art have been discovered, bearing marks of great antiquity, and indicating the remote ex-

* Clinton.

† Dwight.

istence of nations far more civilized than the indigenes of the present race, or any of the known tribes of North America.

In Pompey,* Onondaga county, are vestiges of a town, the area of which included more than 500 acres. It was protected by three circular or elliptical forts, eight miles distant from each other. They formed a triangle, which enclosed the town. From certain indications, this town seems to have been stormed and taken on the line of the north side.

In Camillus, in the same county, are the remains of two forts, one covering about three acres, on a very high hill. It had one eastern gate, and a communication at the west, towards a spring, about ten rods from the fort. Its shape was elliptical. The ditch was deep, and the eastern wall ten feet high.

The other fort is almost half a mile distant, on lower ground, constructed like the former, and about half as large. Shells of testaceous animals, numerous fragments of pottery, pieces of brick, and other signs of an ancient settlement, were found by the first European settlers.

On the east bank of Seneca river, six miles south of Cross and Salt lakes, the remains of ancient Indian defence have been discovered, together with a delineation of ill-shapen figures, supposed to have been hieroglyphical, and engraved, as with a chisel, on a flat stone, 5 feet in length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, and 6 inches thick ; evidently a sepulchral monument.

The principal fortification was 220 yards in length, and 55 yards in breadth. The bank and corresponding ditch were remarkably entire ; as were two apertures, opposite each other in the middle of the parallelogram, one opening to the water, and the other facing the forest.

About half a mile south of the greater work was a large half moon, supposed to have been an outwork, but attended with this singularity, that the extremities of the crescent were from the larger fort. The banks of the ditch, both of this and the first fortress, were covered with trees, that exhibited extremity of age.

* Yates and Moulton.

The flat stone above mentioned was found over a small elevation in the great fort. Upon removing it, one of the visiting party dug up with his cane a piece of earthen vessel, which, from the convexity of the fragment, was supposed to contain two gallons. It was well burned, of a red color, and had its upper edge indented, as with the finger, in its impressionable state.

Eastward these fortifications have been traced eighteen miles from Manlius Square; and in Oxford, Chenango county, on the east bank of Chenango river, are the remains of another fort, remarkable for its great antiquity;—northward, as far as Sandy creek, about fourteen miles from Sacket's Harbor, near which one covers fifty acres, and contains numerous fragments of pottery.

Westward they are discovered in great number. There is a large one in the town of Onondaga, one in Scipio, two near Auburn, three near Canandaigua, and several between the Seneca and Cayuga lakes. A number of ancient fortifications and burial-places have also been discovered in Ridgeway, Genesee county.

Near the Tonewande creek, at the *double-fortified* town,* are some interesting antiquities, described by Dr. Kirkland. They are the remains of two forts. The first contained about four acres, and the other, distant about two miles, and situated at the other extremity of the ancient town, enclosed twice that quantity of ground.

The ditch around the former was about five or six feet deep. A small stream of water, and a high bank, circumscribed nearly one third of the enclosed ground. There were traces of six gates or avenues round the ditch, and, near the centre, a way was dug to the water. A considerable number of large, thrifty oaks had grown up within the enclosed ground, both in and upon the ditch; some of them appeared to be at least two hundred years old or more.

Near the northern fortification, which was situated on high ground, were found the remains of a funeral pile, probably the burying-place of the slain, who had fallen in some san-

* This place is called by the Senecas *Tegataincaaghque*, which imports a double-fortified town, or a town with a fort at each end.

guinary conflict. The earth was raised about six feet above the common surface, and betwixt 20 and 30 feet in diameter. The bones appeared on the whole surface of the raised earth, and stuck out in many places on the sides.

"On the south side of lake Erie are a series of old fortifications, from Cataraugus creek to the Pennsylvania line, a distance of 50 miles. Some are from two to four miles apart, others half a mile only. Some contain five acres. The walls, or breastworks, are of earth, and generally on ground where there are appearances of creeks having once flowed into the lake, or where there was a bay.

"Hence it is inferred that these works were on the former margin of lake Erie whence it has retreated from two to five miles northward. Further south, there is said to be another chain parallel with the first, about equidistant from the lake. Here the country exhibits two table grounds, formed by the recession of the lake. The one nearest the lake is lower, and is secondary. The primary alluvial ground was formed by the first retreat of the water, and then it is supposed the most southern line of fortifications was erected. In process of time, the lake receded farther to the north, leaving the other section of table land, on which the other tier of works was made. The soil in each is different, the inferior being adapted to grass, the superior for grain; and the timber varies in a correspondent manner. On the south of lake Ontario are two alluvial formations, of which the most recent is north of the ridge road. No forts have been discovered on it, although many have been observed south of the mountain ridge. The non-existence of forts on the secondary or primary alluvial formations of lake Ontario is a strong circumstance, from which the remote antiquity of those on the Highlands to the south may be deduced; because, if they had been erected on the first or last retreat of the lake, they would undoubtedly have been made on them, as most convenient, and best adapted for all military, civil and domestic purposes."*

These vestiges of ancient fortified towns are widely scattered throughout the extensive territory of the Six Nations, and, by Indian report, in various other parts. There is one

* Moulton.

on a branch of the Delaware river, which, from the size and age of some of the trees, that have grown on the banks and in the ditches, appears to have existed nearly 1,000 years, and perhaps for a still longer period.

SEC. VII. These antiquities afford demonstrative evidence of the remote existence of a vast population settled in towns, defended by forts, cultivating agriculture, and more advanced in civilization than the nations which have inhabited the same countries since the European discovery.

They may be viewed as connecting links of a great chain, which extends beyond the confines of this state, and, becoming more magnificent and curious as we recede from the northern lakes, passes through Ohio into the great vale of the Mississippi, thence to the gulf of Mexico, through Texas, and South America.

In this vast range, of more than three thousand miles, these monuments of ancient skill gradually become more remarkable for their number, magnitude and interesting variety; until we are lost in admiration and astonishment, to find in a world, which we call new, ancient institutions, religious ideas, and forms of edifices, similar to those in Asia, which there seem to go back to the dawn of civilization.*

SEC. VIII. Concerning the authors of these works, we have no authentic account. The Indians obviously know nothing in regard to them, and their traditions on this subject are vague, indefinite and contradictory. They must have existed a long time previous to European intercourse; but their origin, the fortunes that attended them, and the disasters which effected their ruin, have alike been consigned to oblivion.

* Moulton.

The same obscurity rests on the origin of the numerous American tribes. That America was peopled from different quarters of the old world, and at different periods, appears to be the most probable conjecture.

Philosophers have identified portions of the American family with their Asiatic, European and African kindred. But to identify the whole with any primitive stock, except the common ancestors of all mankind, would, we believe, be impossible.

The Indians of this state have been identified with the Tartars of Asia, and this theory is supported by many traits of resemblance.

But, after so many ages have elapsed, so many intermixtures taken place, and with so little history, even of a traditional kind, now before us, the subject will hardly repay the labor of investigation, and any conclusion, at which we might arrive must be extremely precarious.

CHAP. V.

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT.

Discoveries of Columbus and the Cabots. Great River discovered by Hudson. Champlain's Expedition. Hudson detained in England. Dutch trade to the Great River. Licensed Trading Company. First Settlement. West India Company. New Netherland. First Governor. Van Twiller's Administration. Kieft. Stuyvesant. New Netherland surrendered to the English.

SEC. I. *Christopher Columbus*, a native of Genoa, was the first discoverer of America. In 1492, he sailed from Spain, with a small fleet, under the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella, then on the united thrones of Castile and Arragon, and, on the 12th of October, discovered *San Salvador*, one of the Bahama Islands. Columbus took possession of the island in the name of Queen Isabella, and, after his return to Spain, made several other voyages, but did not discover the *continent of America* until August 1, 1498, when he made the land now called *Terra Firma*, in South America.

In 1497, John and Sebastian Cabot commenced a voyage of discovery, under the patronage of Henry VII. king of England. On the 24th of June, they approached *Newfoundland*, and soon after made the first discovery of the

continent of America, and ranged its coast from Labrador to Florida. The attention of all Europe was excited by these enterprises, and numerous voyages were made for the purposes of discovery and settlement. In 1606, James I., king of England, for the purpose of planting two colonies, passed the great North and South Virginia patent, embracing the country from the 34th to the 45th degree of north latitude. *Jamestown*, in Virginia, the first permanent settlement in North America, was founded the following year.

SEC. II. On the 3d of September, 1609, the first European discoverer, of whom we have any knowledge, entered the southern waters of New York. Henry Hudson, an English navigator, in the service of the Dutch, anchored his ship with in Sandy Hook, and soon after proceeded to New York bay, discovered Manhattan, and sailed into the river which has since borne his name.

The discovery of a northern passage to the East Indies was at this time a subject of sanguine expectation, and an object of deep interest to the commercial world. For the attainment of this, a London company associated, and, in 1607, fitted out a ship under the command of Hudson. He penetrated as far as 82° of north latitude, when the ice arrested his progress. After discovering Spitzbergen, and parts of Greenland before unknown to Europeans, he returned to England.

In 1608, another expedition was fitted out, and Hudson made a second voyage under the same association. In the main object of the enterprise, he was again unsuccessful. The company then suspended their patronage. Hudson went

to Holland, and entered into the service of the celebrated Dutch East India Company.

A small ship, called the *Half-Moon*, was equipped, and intrusted to his command. He left Amsterdam on the 4th of April, 1609, and once more encountered the inclemency of the northern seas. His progress was again intercepted by the ice, and he formed the design of visiting America, in hopes of making some discoveries, that might prove an indemnification for his failure in the north.

He arrived off the banks of Newfoundland early in July, and, after coasting as far south as Virginia, and experiencing severe gales, on the 2d of September he espied the Highlands of Neversink, anchored his ship within Sandy Hook on the 3d, and on the following day is said to have made his first landing on Coney Island, opposite Gravesend.

Here they found the soil chiefly of white sand, and on it vast numbers of plum-trees loaded with fruit, and many of them surrounded and covered with grape-vines of different kinds. While the ship lay at anchor, the natives from the Jersey shore came on board, rejoiced at the sight of their new visitors, and brought green tobacco, which they gave for trifles. They wore loose deer-skins well dressed. While the boat proceeded to sound the bay, the shores were observed to be lined with men, women and children. The crew went on land, and made a short excursion into the woods of Monmouth county, New Jersey, and were kindly treated by the natives. Among the presents they received were sweet dried currants, some of which were also brought on board by those who visited the ship.

Hudson, discovering that the bay was the entrance to what appeared to be an extensive river, sent his boat, with five men, who passed, and sounded through the Narrows, and discovered the Kills between Staten Island and Bergen Neck. They proceeded six miles into the bay of New York, and then turned back. While on their return, the men were attacked by two canoes containing 26 Indians. John Colman, an Englishman, who had accompanied Hudson in his first attempt to penetrate the polar circle, was shot with an arrow in the

neck, and two others wounded. The Indians, perhaps, met them unexpectedly, were surprised and frightened, shot at them, and made off as fast as they could; for it does not appear that they attempted to take the two unwounded men and their boat, as they might, no doubt, have done, then or afterwards. Upon their arrival at the ship with their slain comrade, he was interred at Sandy Hook, and the point named Colman's Point.

The boat was hoisted into the ship, and every precaution taken to guard against an attack. It was expected, that this first instance of hostility would have broken off all intercourse with the natives; but, on the second day after the death of Colman, they brought Indian wheat (corn) and tobacco, traded freely, and offered no violence. The next day they repeated their visits, but armed with bows and arrows, and in greater numbers, with apparently hostile intention. They were not suffered to board, except two, who were kept. The rest returned, when a canoe came out with two only, one of whom was also taken, with a view of keeping him with the others, probably as hostages for the good behavior of their friends. The last one, however, jumped up, and leaped overboard. On the 11th, Hudson passed through the Narrows into the New York bay, and, on the following day, entered the mouth of the North river, and came to anchor. He then made immediate preparation to explore the river, and sailed up on the 13th. In this expedition, he took with him the two Indians, whom he had detained on board, as far as West Point, where they had the address to make their escape by leaping from the port, and swimming to the shore.*

SEC. III. Hudson passed one month in exploring the extent of his discovery. Early in October, he put to sea, with the intention of returning to Holland. A mutiny having risen among the crew, he was compelled to land in England, where he was detained, by an exercise of the royal prerogative.

* Moulton.

While examining the country, Hudson ascended the river with the "Half-Moon" as far as Albany, and with his boat probably reached the spot upon which is the village of Waterford. In the course of this excursion, he had frequent interviews with the natives.

In consequence of the delay occasioned by adverse winds, Hudson was 11 days in ascending, and 11 in returning. During these delays, he occupied his time chiefly in making observations upon the country, and in traffic with the natives. During his ascent, and while at Albany, his interviews with the natives appear to have been friendly. Though sometimes suspected by him of hostile intentions, they were uniformly peaceable in their deportment. At most of these interviews between Hudson and the Indians, there was an exchange of presents; and their intercourse, generally, was distinguished only by mutual acts of kindness. His return, however, was characterized by occurrences of a different nature.

While at anchor in the vicinity of Stony Point, the natives, as usual, "came flocking to the ship, expressing their wonder and astonishment to behold a vessel so superior to their canoes, and weapons so much more terrible than their own. Anxious to carry away to their friends some part of this floating world of wonders, and not satisfied with the trifles they received in return for skins, one of the canoes, with one man in it, lurked about the stern with a thievish treadiness, notwithstanding he was warned off. Watching an opportunity, he at length crawled up the rudder into the cabin window, and stole a pillow and a few articles of wearing apparel. The mate shot at the poor pilferer, and killed him. The rest fled panic-struck, and, in their precipitance, some leaped into the water. The ship's boat was manned, and sent to recover the articles. One of those who had leaped into the water got hold of the boat, for the purpose of overturning it, (as was thought,) but the cook stood ready with his sword, and with one blow cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. This was the first Indian blood shed during the voyage. With this mighty revenge for a trifling injury, they returned to the ship, weigh-

ed anchor, and sailed six miles, when, it being dark, they anchored near Teller's Point, off the mouth of Croton river, near the entrance into Tappan sea. At daybreak, (2d October,) they again sailed with a fair wind, till the tide set too strong against them, when they came to anchor near fort Washington and fort Lee, at the upper end of Manhattan Island. The two captive Indians, who escaped at West Point, had, it might appear, made their way on the west side of the river, rousing on their return the spirits of Sleepy Hollow,* or the more ferocious Manhattan,† and at the head of the Manhattan Island, probably in the inlet of Harlaem river, they had concentrated a force that impatiently awaited the arrival of the rich booty, which they flattered themselves they should obtain. The ship soon appeared, and was hove to near the vicinity of their place of ambush. One of the savages who had escaped came out with many others, armed with bows and arrows. But Hudson, discovering no friendly intention in their approach, suffered none of them to enter the ship. Thereupon, two canoes, full of men, fell back near the stern, and discharged a volley of arrows upon the ship. In retaliation, six muskets were fired, and two or three Indians killed. Meantime the main body of the Indians advanced to the point of land, (at fort Washington,) and discharged their arrows as the vessel moved slowly along. A cannon was fired on board, and two of the Indians fell; the remainder fled to the woods. Still resolute in their plan, though discomfited in its onset, about a dozen of the boldest and most desperate jumped into a canoe, and advanced to meet the ship. Another cannon was discharged, their canoe shot through, and one man killed. The men stationed on the deck also fired, and killed three or four more. This terminated the desultory sea-fight, in which nine fell victims to their temerity. The assailants 'went their way,' and the ship, after sailing two leagues, anchored beyond the reach of danger, in what appeared to be a bay near Weehawken, or Hoboken, opposite New York. Here they rode all night, but experienced much

* Of the Mahicanni nation, a little north-west of White Plains in West-Chester. See *Irring's Sketch Book*.

† Who probably extended to Tappan bay.

wind and rain. The next day (3d) was very stormy, the anchor was driven home in a violent gust, and the ship went aground; but the wind, suddenly changing, drove her off, the ground being oozy.

“ On the fourth of October, Hudson left ‘the great mouth of the great river,’ and with all sails set put to sea, and sailed south-east by east.

“ Thus, after spending a month of almost uniformly fine weather, but suffering the apprehension of shipwreck, in consequence of the vessel being three times driven on shore, and half a dozen times run aground; after meeting a more friendly reception, and realizing a more profitable trade, from the natives on the west side of the river, than from those on the eastern; losing one man, and killing ten,—Hudson completed a discovery, the benefits and glory of which he could neither foresee nor appreciate. His character throughout appears to have been marked with mildness and dignity.

“ When justly provoked by the first aggression of the Indians in the death of Colman, he sought no retaliation. The mate alone was implicated by the death of the Indian, whose rash curiosity had led him to pilfer some trifles; and the subsequent sacrifice of life was caused in self-defence.”*

The Iroquois have a curious tradition with regard to the first interview with the whites. They say, that, “ A long time ago, before men with a white skin had ever been seen, some Indians, fishing at a place where the sea widens, espied something at a distance moving upon the water. They hurried ashore, collected their neighbors, who together returned, and viewed intensely this astonishing phenomenon. What it could be, baffled all conjecture. Some supposed it a large fish or animal, others that it was a very big house floating on the sea. Perceiving it moving towards land, the spectators concluded that it would be proper to send runners in different directions, to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off for the immediate attendance of their warriors. These arriving in numbers to behold the sight,

* Moulton.

and perceiving that it was actually moving towards them (i. e. coming into the river or bay,) they conjectured that it must be a remarkable large house, in which the Manitto (or Great Spirit) was coming to visit them. They were much afraid, and yet under no apprehension that the Great Spirit would injure them. They worshipped him. The chiefs now assembled at York Island, and consulted in what manner they should receive their Manitto. Meat was prepared for a sacrifice. The women were directed to prepare the best of victuals. Idols or images were examined and put in order. A grand dance, they thought, would be pleasing, and, in addition to the sacrifice, might appease him if angry. The conjurors were also set to work to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the result would be. To these, men, women and children looked up for advice and protection. Utterly at a loss what to do, and distracted alternately by hope and fear, in this confusion, a grand dance commenced. Meantime fresh runners arrived, declaring it to be a great house of various colors, and full of living creatures. It now appeared certain that it was their Manitto, probably bringing some new kind of game. Others, arriving, declared it positively to be full of people of different color and dress from theirs, and that one in particular appeared altogether *red*. This, then, must be the *Manitto*. They were lost in admiration; could not imagine what the vessel was, whence it came, or what all this portended. They are now hailed from the vessel in a language they could not understand. They answer by a shout or yell in their way. The house (or large *canoe*, as some render it) stops. A smaller canoe comes on shore with the red man in it; some stay by his canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men form a circle, into which the red man and two attendants approach. He salutes them with friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are amazed at their color and dress, particularly with him who, glittering in red, wore something (perhaps lace and buttons) they could not comprehend. He *must* be the great Manitto, they thought; but why should he have a *white skin*? A large elegant *hockhock* (*gourd*, i. e. bottle, decanter, &c.) is brought by one of the supposed Manitto's

servants, from which a substance is poured into a small cup or glass, and handed to the Manitto. He drinks, has the glass refilled and handed to the chief near him. He takes it, smells it, and passes it to the next, who does the same. The glass in this manner is passed round the circle, and is about to be returned to the red-clothed man, when one of them, a great warrior, harangues them on the impropriety of returning the cup unemptied. It was handed to them, he said, by the Manitto, to drink out of, as he had. To follow his example, would please him; to reject it, might provoke his wrath. And, if no one else would, he would drink it himself, let what would follow; for it were better for one even to die, than a whole nation to be destroyed. He then took the glass, smelled at it, again addressed them, bidding adieu, and drank the contents. All eyes were now fixed (on the first Indian in New York, who had tasted the poison, which has since effected so signal a revolution in the condition of the native Americans.) He soon began to stagger. The women cried, supposing him in fits. He rolled on the ground. They bemoan his fate. They thought him dying. He fell asleep. They at first thought he had expired, but soon perceived he still breathed. He awoke, jumped up, and declared he never felt more happy. He asked for more, and the whole assembly, imitating him, became intoxicated. After this intoxication ceased, (during its continuance the whites confined themselves to their vessel,) the man with red clothes returned, and distributed beads, axes, hoes and stockings. They soon became familiar, and conversed by signs. The whites made them understand that they would now return home, but the next year they would visit them again with presents, and stay with them awhile; but that, as they could not live without eating, they should then want a little land to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs to put into their broth. Accordingly, a vessel arrived the season following, when they were much rejoiced to see each other; but the whites laughed when they saw the axes and hoes hanging, as ornaments, to their breasts, and the stockings used as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles (or helvæ) in the former, and cut down trees before their eyes, and dug the ground, and showed them the use of the stock

ings. Here they say a general laughter ensued, to think they had remained ignorant of the use of these things, and had borne so long such heavy metal suspended around their necks. Familiarity daily increasing between them and the whites, the latter now proposed to stay with them, asking them only for so much land as the hide of a bullock spread before them would cover or encompass. They granted the request. The whites took a knife, and, beginning at one place on this hide, cut it up to a rope not thicker than the finger of a little child. They then took the rope, and drew it gently along in a circular form, and took in a large piece of ground. The Indians were surprised at their superior wit, but they did not contend with them for a little ground, as they had enough. They lived contentedly together for a long time; but the new comers from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained. And thus they gradually proceeded higher up the Mahicannittuck, (Hudson river,) until they began to believe they would want all their country, which proved eventually the case.”*

SEC. IV. While Hudson was exploring the southern waters of the state, a party under the patronage of the French were making similar discoveries at the north. Samuel Champlain, at the head of the Algonquins and Hurons, and in a warlike expedition against the Iroquois, discovered and sailed through the lake that now bears his name. He landed, and had a successful engagement with the Iroquois in the vicinity of Ticonderoga.†

Champlain, at this time, had the direction of the French settlements in Canada; and his object in this expedition was to secure the friendship of the neighboring Algonquins, and to weaken the power of their common enemy, the Iroquois. He embarked with his new allies at Quebec, sailed up the St. Lawrence, entered and sailed up the Sorelle, until the rapids

* Moulton, *originally MSS. in possession of the N. Y. Hist. Soc.*

† Holmes places this event in 1611.

near Chamblly prevented the progress of his vessel. Upon this unexpected impediment, which the duplicity of his allies had previously concealed from his knowledge, his vessel returned; but he, with two other Frenchmen, who would not desert him, determined to proceed. They transported their canoes above the rapids, then re-entered the river, and continued their route to the lake. The waters of the river and lake swarmed with fish, and the islands were filled with deer and other animals, which afforded a plentiful supply of provisions for the army.

Champlain was much amused by the blind confidence which the Indians paid to their soothsayer, or sorcerer, who, at one of their encampments, went through with his terrific ceremony. After having for several days inquired of Champlain if he had not seen the Iroquois in a dream, and being answered in the negative, they became greatly disquieted. At last, to relieve their embarrassment, and avoid their importunity, he told them he had, in a dream, seen the Iroquois drowning in a lake, but that he did not rely altogether upon the dream. The Indians thought otherwise, and regarded the dream as the sure prelude of victory.

After having entered the lake, they traversed it, until they approached the outlet of lake George, near Ticonderoga. It was their design to pass the rapids between the two lakes, and make an irruption into the country of the Iroquois, beyond lake George, and surprise some of their villages. The Iroquois, however, suddenly made their appearance at 10 o'clock at night, and, by accident, met their invaders on the Great lake. Both parties, mutually surprised, expressed their joy by loud acclamations, and, as they were not accustomed to fight on the water, hurried to the shore. They landed at or near Ticonderoga, and the allies sent a messenger to the Iroquois to adjust the preliminaries of the engagement. It was resolved to await the approach of day, and both parties encamped for the night.

The parties were nearly equal in numbers, but the allies, depending on the fire-arms of the French, displayed only a part of their warriors. At break of day, Champlain placed his two Frenchmen and some savages in the wood, to attack the

enemy in flank. The allies first made a sortie, and ran two hundred feet in front of the enemy, then stopped, and divided into two bands, when Champlain, advancing to the centre, placed himself at their head. At the first report of his arquebuse, from the spot where he had posted four men, the Iroquois saw two of their chiefs fall dead, and the third dangerously wounded. The allies shouted, and discharged a few ineffective arrows. Champlain and the other Frenchmen recharged their pieces, and continued the fight. This was the first time the Iroquois had ever witnessed the effects of fire-arms; and, filled with consternation and dismay at this new mode of destruction, they soon fled in confusion. They were hotly pursued, and many were killed, and taken prisoners. The conquerors were beginning to suffer for provisions, but obtained seasonable relief from the maize which the fugitives, in the hurry of flight, had abandoned. After feasting and dancing on the field of battle, the allies prepared to return homeward. On their way, they tortured one of their prisoners, whose miseries Champlain humanely ended.

SEC. V. Hudson, on his arrival in England, being forbidden by the English government to return to Holland, or again enter the service of the Dutch, re-entered the service of the London company, which had patronised him in his two first voyages.

He transmitted to the Dutch East India directors the journal of his recent voyage, with an account of his discoveries; and the "Half-Moon," after being some time detained at Dartmouth, was permitted to return to Amsterdam, where she arrived early in 1610. In April of the same year, Hudson was again sent out, by the London company, on a northern expedition, from which he never returned.

The last voyage and tragical fate of this distinguished navi-

gator are subjects, to which we cannot advert without the most painful emotions. After encountering for a long time the dangers of the northern seas, a mutiny broke out among the crew, and Hudson, with eight others, was placed in an open boat, and abandoned to the tempests of those inhospitable regions.

Nothing more has ever been heard from them ; and they probably either perished in a storm, or by the more protracted horrors of famine. The English deeply lamented the loss of a countryman, whose achievements as a navigator had reflected honor on a nation already distinguished for its illustrious seamen. Hudson's personal qualities and virtues, displayed during his four voyages, at times which were calculated to try character, will ever be contemplated with pleasure and admiration.

SEC. VI. 1610. The Dutch East India Company fitted out a ship for a second visit to the newly-discovered land, for the purpose of trade. The only object was a cargo of furs, but the voyage was more important in its consequences, being the prelude to the fur trade, which led to the subsequent colonization of the country.

The directors of the East India Company, who had patronised Hudson's design of a northern passage to India, though disappointed in this object, appreciated his minor discovery. They looked to the *Great River*, and anticipated in the fur trade an indemnity for past expenses. This article could now be obtained from the Indians in America on more advantageous terms than formerly from the north of Europe.

The voyage was successful, and therefore repeated. The fame of its profits, and of the country, stimulated adventurers ; and, within three years, much competition arose in this new branch of the commerce of Holland.

The effects of this rivalry were sensibly felt by those who had seconded Hudson's voyage. A memorial was therefore presented to their High Mightinesses, the Lords States Gene-

ral, stating, that they, who had incurred the expense and risk of originating discoveries, were prevented, by an unjust competition, from realizing an adequate remuneration.

SEC. VII. 1614. The States passed an edict, on the 27th of March, that "all persons, who had discovered, or might discover, any rivers, bays or harbors, or countries before unknown, should enjoy, besides other advantages, the exclusive trade there for four successive voyages." This act was the foundation of the Amsterdam Licensed Trading West India Company.

The members of this company had a double object—to secure the possession of the Great River by fortifications, and to extend their commercial privileges under the edict by the discovery of circumjacent places. Two ships, commanded by Adriaan Blok and Hendrik Christiaanse, were the same year fitted out for the accomplishment of this purpose.

Blok arrived first at Manhattan, but his ship was accidentally burned. He erected on the shore of the river a small vessel,* the first specimen of marine architecture, superior to a canoe, which had probably ever been constructed here, and the first ocular demonstration to the Indians of the pre-eminent intelligence and skill of the Europeans. In this vessel, he sailed from the Great River on a voyage of exploration and discovery. He proceeded to Cape Cod, where he met Christiaanse's ship, in which he embarked, leaving his yacht to be used by a fishing party. They then proceeded to examine the coast and neighboring islands, discovered Narragansett bay, and the Connecticut river, which was thoroughly explored. After completing their discoveries, and spending some time in fishing, and traffic with the natives, they returned to the Great River, to superintend the establishment of a fortified settlement.

SEC. VIII. In the fall of 1614, the first fortified settlement was established on Castle Island,

* Yacht, 44½ feet long on deck, 11½ wide.

a short distance below Albany. In the following year, 1615, a similar establishment was effected at Manhattan, on an elevated spot near the southern extremity of the island.*

It has been affirmed, that, as early as 1613, an insignificant warehouse was erected on a small island just below Albany; and that, in 1614, four houses were on the island of Manhattan.

If such was the fact, they must have been temporary in design, and consequently frail in structure; for it is hardly probable, that any fortified or permanent settlement could have been contemplated so long as the country was unappropriated, and its trade participated by all adventurers.

SEC. IX. In 1617, the fort on Castle Island was abandoned in consequence of the high floods, and a new fortification erected a few miles south, on the shore of Nordtman's Kill. About the same time, a treaty with the Iroquois was here concluded in all the primitive solemnity which characterized the public transactions of the Indians. This treaty was preserved in good faith, and was highly conducive to the prosperity of the Dutch, and the ascendancy which the Iroquois so long maintained over the other Indians of North America.†

These establishments must, at this period, be viewed as purely of a military and commercial character. Nothing further was contemplated until 1620, when the Dutch conceived the project of forming a great national society, and, under its auspices, a permanent settlement on the Great River.

SEC. X. 1621. On the third of June, the grant was obtained from their High Mightinesses,

* On the site of the Macomb houses in Broadway, New York

† Moulton.

the States General, for the establishment and organization of the Privileged West Indian Company.

The Amsterdam Licensed Trading Company, with all its rights to the trade and territory of the new world, became merged in this national society, which, being endowed with more ample powers and greater resources, would be able to establish fortifications and settlements on a stronger and more enlarged basis.

SEC. XI. In 1623, the first ship of the West Indian Company arrived at the Great River.—The name of *Belgium*, or *New Netherland*, was bestowed upon the country.

This name was intended to comprehend the country discovered by Hudson; and though its boundaries became involved in doubt and controversy, yet it was apparently understood, at that time, by the Dutch, to extend from the Delaware river to Cape Cod.

Two forts were, this year, (1623,) commenced—fort New Amsterdam, on a commanding elevation, south of the original redoubt on Manhattan, and fort Orange, on the west bank of the Hudson at Albany.

SEC. XII. In 1625, the West Indian Company freighted two ships, in one of which the first governor, or director, Peter Minuit, arrived in New Netherland.

The first emigrants under Minuit appear to have been from the river Waal, in Guelderland, and, under the name of *Waaloons*, founded the first permanent settlement beyond the immediate

protection of the cannon of fort Amsterdam. They settled on Long Island, at the bend of the shore opposite Manhattan.

They were the first who professionally pursued agriculture. Temporary locations, for other purposes, had been made at other places. The limited extent of settlements, the single condition, and peculiar pursuits of those who had arrived previous to this period, may be inferred from the fact, that, in June of the present year, the first child of European parentage was born in New Netherland.*

SEC. XIII. For some years, the settlements progressed but slowly. In 1629, the company adopted a charter of "Liberties and exemptions for patroons, masters, and private individuals, who should plant colonies in New Netherland, or import thither any neat cattle."

The liberality of this charter towards patroons induced Goodyn, Bloemart, Van Renselaer, and others of the commissioners of New Netherland, to send Wouter Van Twiller, as agent, to inspect the condition of the country, and the purchase of lands from the natives, for the purpose of settlement. During this and the subsequent year, several purchases were made.

SEC. XIV. 1633. Minuit was recalled, and Wouter Van Twiller arrived at fort Amsterdam with sole power as governor of New Netherland.

Disturbances in the colony, which, by some, have been attributed to the influence of Van Twiller, during his first visit, occasioned the recall of Minuit. The arrival of Van Twiller as governor gave a fresh impulse to the settlements, and agricultural pursuits, which, under Minuit, had been less flourishing than the commercial concerns of the colony. Under Minuit's administration, commerce had increased, the exports having nearly doubled, while the imports gradually diminished.

* Sarah Rapaelje, daughter of Jan Joris Rapaelje.

In its course of nine years, the whole amount of exports was nearly 200,000 dollars in value; while the imports were a little more than 100,000 dollars. During Van Twiller's administration originated the controversy occasioned by the encroachments of the English, which afterwards proved the source of so much rancorous, but bloodless hostility.

SEC. XV. 1638. William Kieft succeeded Van Twiller as governor of New Netherland. Two years after the commencement of his administration, the English had overspread the eastern part of Long Island, and advanced to Oyster bay.

Kieft broke up their settlement in 1642, and fitted out two sloops to drive the English out of the Schuylkill, of which the Marylanders had lately possessed themselves.

The English from the eastward soon after sent deputies to New Amsterdam, for the accommodation of their disputes about limits. We do not learn, however, that any settlement resulted from their negotiations.

The English were continually becoming more powerful, and constantly extending their possessions. In 1643, the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven entered into a league, both against the Dutch and Indians, and are said to have met, shortly after, upon a design of extirpating the former.

In addition to the New England controversies, the Dutch appear to have suffered, about the close of Kieft's administration, from the hostilities of the Indians. In 1646, a severe battle was fought on a part of Strickland's Plain, called *Horse Neck*. The battle was contested with mutual obstinacy and fury, and great numbers were killed on both sides. The Dutch ultimately kept the field.

SEC. XVI. 1647. Peter Stuyvesant arrived at fort Amsterdam as governor, and laid claim

to all the lands, rivers and streams from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod. Three years after, he went to Hartford, and demanded a surrender to the Dutch of all the lands on Connecticut river.

After a controversy of several days, the subject was left to the decision of arbitrators, who concluded articles of adjustment with regard to boundaries and occupancy of lands already settled.

Long Island was divided; the eastern part was to be held by the English, the western by the Dutch. On the main, the boundaries were amicably adjusted. The Dutch were to hold the lands on Connecticut river, of which they were then possessed; the residue, on each side of the river, to belong to the English.

SEC. XVII. 1664. Charles the Second, king of England, fearful of the consequences of having the Dutch settled in the midst of his colonies, determined to dispossess them, and, for this purpose, made a grant to his brother, the duke of York and Albany, of all the territory claimed by the Dutch, together with other parts of North America.

The patent included all the main land of New England, beginning at St. Croix, extending to the rivers Connecticut and Hudson, "together with the said river called Hudson's river, and all the lands from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay." Col. Richard Nichols, with several others, was commissioned to take possession in the king's name, and to exercise jurisdiction.

SEC. XVIII. Nichols, with four frigates and 300 soldiers, appeared before Manhattan, and demanded the surrender of the fort. As the fort was in no condition for defence, Stuyvesant,

after some negotiation, was compelled to surrender on the 27th of August, 1664. The most liberal terms of capitulation were granted.

By the terms of surrender, the governor and inhabitants were to become British subjects, to possess their estates without molestation, and enjoy their modes of worship without hinderance. New Amsterdam was now called, in honor of the duke of York, *New York*; and fort Orange, which surrendered soon after, was called *Albany*.

The squadron then sailed for the Delaware, to reduce the Dutch and Swedes on that bay and river, who soon were compelled to surrender to the English.

Col. Nichols represented the town of New York as being, at this time, "composed of a few miserable houses, occupied by men extremely poor, and the whole in a mean condition." He, however, prognosticated its future greatness, if indulged with the immunities which he then recommended

CHAP. VI.

FROM 1665 TO 1710.

Administration of Nichols. Lovelace. New York retaken by the Dutch, and soon after restored to the English. Andros. Dongan. Revolution. Leisler. Sloughter. Bellomont. War with the French, &c.

SEC. I. 1665. Nichols, having taken possession of the country, assumed the government, with the title of "deputy-governor, under his royal highness the duke of York, of all his territories in America." He next proceeded to erect a court of assizes, consisting of the governor, council, and justices of the peace, who now commenced the compilation of a body of laws.

The court of assizes collected into one code the ancient customs and usages, with such additional improvements as the great change of things required, regarding the laws of England as the supreme rule. These ordinances were transmitted to England, and confirmed by the duke of York the following year. A dispute having risen between the inhabitants of Jamaica, on Long Island, respecting Indian deeds, it was ordained, that no purchase from the Indians, without the governor's license, executed in his presence, should be valid. The English methods of government were gradually introduced into the province.*

On the 12th of June, the inhabitants of New York were incorporated under the care of a

* Holmes's Annals.

mayor, five aldermen, and a sheriff. Previous to this time, the city was ruled by a scout, burgomasters, and schepens.

“The hostilities which the French, upon their first discovery of the country, had commenced with the Iroquois, were still continued; and the latter, by their irruptions into Canada, not only obstructed the commerce of the French with the western Indians, but often endangered their colony. In 1666, a large expedition was fitted out to punish and repel these incursions. M. de Tracy, viceroy of America, and M. Courcelles, governor of Canada, with 28 companies of foot, and all the militia of the colony, marched from Quebec above 700 miles into the Mohawk country, with the intention of destroying its inhabitants; but, on their approach, the Mohawks retired into the woods with their women and children, and the French effected nothing more than to burn several villages, and murder some sachems, who chose to die rather than to desert their habitations. The ill success of the French on the one hand, and the Indians’ fear of fire-arms on the other, brought about a peace the following year.”*

SEC. II. 1667. After having for three years exercised the government with integrity and ability, Nichols resigned. Col. Francis Lovelace was appointed by the duke to succeed him. Under Lovelace, the affairs of the colony were happily administered, until its re-surrender to the Dutch, which put an end to his power, and is the only event that signalized his administration.

At the close of his administration, Nichols returned to England. During his residence here, his time was mostly occupied in confirming the ancient Dutch grants. He assiduously devoted himself to the concerns of the colony, exercising the highest judicial, as well as legislative authority. Complaints came before him by petition; upon which he gave a day to the parties, and, after a summary hearing, pro-

* Charlevoix.

nounced judgment. His determinations were called *edicts*, and executed by the sheriffs he had appointed. It is much to his honor, that, notwithstanding all this plenitude of power, he governed the province with integrity and moderation.

SEC. III. 1673. A second Dutch war having recently commenced, a small squadron was sent from Holland, which arrived at Staten Island on the 30th of July. The commander of the fort at New York sent a messenger, and treacherously surrendered to the enemy.

The same day, the Dutch ships came up, moored under the fort, landed their men, and entered the garrison without giving or receiving a shot. The city immediately followed the example of the fort; and, soon after, all New Netherland consented to the same humiliating submission.

Anthony Colve was constituted governor, but enjoyed his office for a very short season. On the 9th of Feb., 1674, a treaty of peace was concluded between England and the States General of Holland, by which New Netherland was restored to the English.

"At the time of the arrival of the Dutch squadron, John Manning, a captain of an independent company, had the command of the fort. After the re-establishment of the English power, he was tried by a court martial for his treacherous and cowardly surrender. This charge, which Manning, on his trial, confessed to be true, is less surprising than the lenity of the sentence pronounced against him. It was this, that, though he deserved death, yet, because he had, since the surrender, been in England, and seen the king and the duke, it was adjudged, that his sword should be broken over his head in public before the city hall, and himself rendered

incapable of wearing a sword, and of serving his majesty, for the future, in any public trust in the government.*

SEC. IV. 1674. At the close of the war, the duke of York, to remove all controversy respecting his property in America, took out a new patent from the king, and commissioned major Edmund Andros "governor of New York, and all his territories in these parts." The Dutch, in October, resigned their authority to Andros, who immediately received the submission of the inhabitants.

Andros, the following year, made efforts to acquire the country of Connecticut river, but was effectually frustrated by the spirited conduct of the Connecticut colony.

1677. Andros sent a sloop, with some forces, to the province of Maine, to take possession of the lands which had been granted to the duke of York, and, in the following year, built a fort at Pemaquid.

The province of New York contained, at this time, about 24 towns, villages or parishes, in six precincts, ridings, or courts of sessions. The militia of the province amounted to about 2000.

Its annual exports, besides peas, beef, pork, tobacco and peltry, consisted of about 60,000 bushels of wheat. Its annual imports were to the value of about 50,000 pounds. The city of New York contained, at this period, 343 houses.

Andros, in his answers to the inquiries of the committee of colonies, dated April, 1678, gives the following account of the condition and resources of the province of New York:—"There is one standing company of soldiers, with gunners and other officers, for the forts of Albany and New York. Fortress are, James Fort, situated on a point of New York

* Smith.

town, between Hudson's river and the Sound. It is square, with stone walls, 4 bastions, almost regular, and in it 46 guns mounted. Albany is a small, long, stockaded fort, with 4 bastions in it, with 12 guns, which is sufficient against Indians. There are no privateers about our coasts. Our merchants are not many; but, with inhabitants and planters, about 2000 able to bear arms, old inhabitants of the place or of England; except in and near New York, of Dutch extraction, and some of all nations; but few servants, who are much wanted, and but very few slaves. A merchant worth £1000 or £500 is accounted a good, substantial merchant; and a planter worth half of that in movables is accounted rich. All the estates may be valued at £150,000. There may have lately traded to the colony, in a year, from 10 to 15 ships or vessels, upon an average, of 100 tons each—English, New England, and of our own built. There are religions of all sorts; one Church of England, several Presbyterians, and Independents, Quakers, and Anabaptists of several sects; some Jews; but the Presbyterians and Independents are the most numerous and substantial. There are about 29 churches, or meeting places, of which above half are vacant; few ministers till very lately.* The population of New York city, at this time, was computed at 3430 souls.

The administration of Andros appears not to have been remarkably popular. The principal part of his public proceedings, during his continuance in the province, was comprised in the ordinary acts of the government, which then consisted mostly in passing of grants, and presiding in the court of assize.

SEC. V. 1682. Thomas Dongan was appointed, by the duke of York, to succeed Andros in the government of the province, but did not arrive at New York until August of the following year.

1683. The court of assizes, council and corporation of New York having requested that

* Chalmers.

the people should have a participation in the choice of their rulers, on the arrival of Dongan, orders were given to summon the freeholders for the choice of representatives. The assembly consisted of a council of 10, and house of representatives consisting of 18 members.

Some obscurity rests on the latter part of Andros's administration. He probably retired from the government as early as 1681. During the interval between the close of his administration and the arrival of Dongan, the government was administered by Anthony Brackholst. When the administration of Brackholst commenced, or ended, has not been determined; but he certainly acted as commander-in-chief in July, 1681, and in April, 1683.* Governor Dongan arrived in August, and a session of the assembly was held in October, and several important laws passed. One of the acts passed is entitled 'The charter of liberties and privileges granted by his royal highness to the inhabitants of New York and its dependencies.' Another session was held the following year; but it is believed there was no other after that, until the revolution of William and Mary.

In 1684, a grand convention was held at Albany, and a treaty with the Iroquois concluded by lord Effingham and governor Dongan, in behalf of all the settlements. By this treaty, the Five Nations put the lands and castles of the Mohawks and the Oneidas under the protection of the English government, and the English engaged to guaranty them to the Indians. During the same season, M. de la Barre, with an army from Canada, consisting of 700 Canadians, 130 soldiers, and 200 Indians, made an unsuccessful expedition into the country of the Five Nations. The object of the French, in this enterprise, was the total destruction of these tribes, and, the further to ensure success, a letter was obtained from the duke of York to colonel Dongan commanding him to lay no *stacles* in the way. Dongan, however, regardless of the duke's order, apprized the Indians of the intended invasion, and

* See *Collections of New York Historical Society*.

promised them his assistance. After a delay of six weeks at fort Frontenac, during which the French army suffered severely by sickness, M. de la Barre found it necessary to conclude the campaign with a treaty. Having crossed the lake, he was met, at a designated place, by the Oneidas, Onondagas and Cayugas, the Mohawks and Senecas refusing their attendance.

M. de la Barre being seated in a chair of state, with the Indians and French officers around him, he addressed himself to Garangula, an Onondaga chief, in a haughty speech, which was concluded with a menace of burning the castles of the Five Nations, unless certain stipulations, which he demanded, were complied with. Garangula, knowing the distressed state of the French army, heard these threats with contempt, and answered him in a cool, but bold and decisive speech. M. de la Barre, enraged at this reply, retired to his tent, but prudently suspended his menaces. Immediately after the conclusion of the peace, the Indian chief and his retinue returned to their country ; and M. de la Barre, after having ingloriously finished an expensive campaign, embarked his army in their canoes, and returned to Montreal.

The following is the speech of Garangula on this occasion, and has been justly admired, as a characteristic specimen of Indian eloquence :—

“ YONNONDIO,*

“ I honor you, and the warriors that are with me likewise honor you. Your interpreter has finished your speech ; I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears ; hearken to them.

“ Yonnondio, you must have believed, when you left Quebec, that the sun had burnt up all the forests, which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lakes had so far overflowed the banks, that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them.

* *Yonnondio* was the name by which the Indians always addressed the governor of Canada ; *Cor'ear* was their phrase when speaking to the governor of New York.

Yes, Yonnondio, surely you must have dreamt so, and the curiosity of seeing so great a wonder, has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since that I and the warriors here present are come to assure you, that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks are yet alive. I thank you, in their name, for bringing back into their country the calumet which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you, that you left under ground that murdering hatchet that has been so often dyed in the blood of the French. Hear, Yonnondio: I do not sleep; I have my eyes open, and the sun, which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he was dreaming. He says, that he only came to the lake to smoke on the great calumet with the Onondagas. But Garangula says, that he sees the contrary; that it was to knock them on the head, if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French.

“I see Yonnondio raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit has saved by inflicting this sickness on them. Hear, Yonnondio: our women had their clubs, our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not disarmed them, and kept them back, when your messenger, Ohguesse, came to our castles. It is done, and I have said it. Hear, Yonnondio: we plundered none of the French, but those that carried guns, powder and ball to the Twilighties and Chictaghicks, because those arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits, who stave all the kegs of ruin brought to our castles, lest the drunken Indians should knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beaver enough to pay for all these arms, that they have taken, and our old men are not afraid of the war. This belt preserves my words.

“We carried the English into our lakes, to trade there with the Utawas and Quatoghies, as the Adirondacks brought the French to our castles, to carry on a trade which the English say is theirs. We are born free; we neither depend on Yonnondio nor Corlear.

"We may go where we please, and carry with us what we please: if your allies be your slaves, use them as such; command them to receive no other but your people. This belt preserves my words.

"We knocked the Twightwies and Chictaghicks on the head because they had cut down the trees of peace, which were the limits of our country. They have hunted beavers on our lands; they have acted contrary to the customs of all Indians; for they left none of the beavers alive; they killed both male and female. They brought the Satanas into the country to take part with them, after they had concerted all designs against us. We have done less than either the English or French, they have usurped the lands of so many Indian nations, and chased them from their own country. This belt preserves my words.

"Hear, Yonnondio: what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations: hear what they answer; open your ears to what they speak. The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks say, that, when they buried the hatchet at Cadarac-qui, (in the presence of your predecessor,) in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, to be there carefully preserved, that, in place of a retreat for soldiers, that fort might be a rendezvous for merchants; that, in place of arms and ammunition of war, beavers and merchandise should only enter there.

"Hear, Yonnondio: take care for the future, that so great a number of soldiers as appear there do not choke the tree of peace, planted in so small a fort. It will be a great loss, if, after it had so easily taken root, you should stop its growth, and prevent its covering your country and ours with its branches. I assure you, in the name of the Five Nations, that our warriors shall dance to the calumet of peace under its leaves, and shall remain quiet on their mats, and shall never dig up the hatchet, till their brother, Yonnondio or Corlear, shall, either jointly or separately, endeavor to attack the country, which the Great Spirit has given to our ancestors. This belt preserves my words, and this other, the authority which the Five Nations have given me."

Garangula then addressed himself to monsieur la Main, the interpreter :—“ Take courage,” said he, “ Ohguesse ; you have spirit ; speak, explain my words, forget nothing, tell all your brethren and friends ; say to Yonnondio, your governor, by the mouth of Garangula, who loves you, and desires you to accept of this present of beaver, and take part with me in my feast, to which I invite you. This present of beaver is sent to Yonnondio, on the part of the Five Nations.”*

SEC. VI. 1686. James the Second, formerly duke of York, having now come to the throne, refused, on the renewal of governor Dongan’s commission, to confirm the privileges granted when he was duke. The assembly was prohibited, and printing forbidden. Much disaffection at this time prevailed among the colonists, on account of the appointment of professed papists to the principal crown offices. Albany was this year incorporated.

In the following year, the French court aimed a blow which threatened to destroy the British interest in North America. M. Denonville, with 1500 French and 500 Indians, took the field against the Senecas. The latter were known to be firmly attached to the English, and it was, therefore, determined to make them examples of French resentment to all others.

When Denonville with his army had arrived within a quarter of a league of the chief village of the Senecas, the Indians, who lay in ambush, suddenly raised the war-shout, with a discharge of fire-arms. This surprise threw the French into confusion, of which the Senecas took the advantage, and fell on them with great fury ; but the French Indians rallied, at length, and repulsed them.

* Smith.

In this action, a hundred Frenchmen, ten French Indians, and about eighty Senecas were killed. The next day, Denonville marched forward with the intention of burning the village, but found it in ashes. The Senecas had burned it, and fled. Nothing was left to employ the valor of the soldiers, but the corn in the fields, which they effectually destroyed.

The war was undertaken by the French chiefly to put a stop to the English trade, which was extending itself into the continent, and would, in consequence, ruin theirs. Denonville soon after returned to Canada.

SEC. VII. 1688. It was determined to add New York and the Jerseys to the jurisdiction of New England. A new commission was passed, in March, appointing Andros captain-general and vice-admiral over the whole.

Francis Nicholson was soon after named his lieutenant, with the accustomed authority. The constitution established on this occasion ordained a legislative and executive governor, and council, who were appointed by the king, without the consent of the people.

In the following year, James having abdicated, William, prince of Orange, and Mary, daughter of James, ascended the throne. This intelligence was joyfully received at New York.

SEC. VIII. 1689. Jacob Leisler, with forty-nine men, seized the garrison at New York, and held it for the prince of Orange. William and Mary were proclaimed there in June; and the province was now ruled by a committee of safety, at the head of which was Leisler.

Andros had been previously seized and imprisoned by the citizens of Boston. Nicholson, with the council and civil officers, made all the

opposition in their power to Leisler, but it was ineffectual. Nicholson absconded, and Leisler assumed supreme authority.

Leisler's assumption of command excited the envy and hatred of many of the people; at the head of whom were col. Bayard and the mayor, who, being unable to make any effectual resistance in New York, retired to Albany.

A letter arrived from England, directed to "Francis Nicholson, esq., or, in his absence, to such as, for the time being, take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws." Nicholson having absconded, Leisler considered the letter directed to himself, and assumed the title and authority of lieutenant-governor.

SEC. IX. Albany, though friendly to William and Mary, refused subjection to Leisler; to compel which, Leisler sent his son-in-law, Milborn, with an armed force. Albany was reduced in the following spring, and Nicholson and Bayard were imprisoned.

During the year 1689, the Five Nations renewed their covenant with the English, and soon after made a descent upon Montreal, in Canada, attended with terrible massacre and devastation. Many plantations were burned, and the whole French colony thrown into consternation.

At the time this irruption took place, the French had been negotiating, and were on the point of concluding, an advantageous peace with the Iroquois. While the province of New York, convulsed with domestic contentions, had neglected its relations with the Indians, the latter had begun to listen to the solicitations of the French, and a general meeting of the hostile parties was proposed at Montreal. Twelve hundred Indians of the Iroquois attended this conference. The conditions of the treaty were agreed upon, when its conclusion

was prevented by the policy of an Indian, who had the address to destroy, by a well-concerted scheme, all confidence between the parties, and to inflame both with the most deadly hostility.

“ Among the tribes which lived on the shores of the western lakes, there was one called by the name of the *Dinondodies*, a party, or appendage to the Hurons. This tribe had found it profitable to trade with the English at Michilimackinack. On that account, it was suspected by the French, as being inclined to withdraw from their alliance; but it was still at war with the confederates. Adario, called by the French *Le Rat*, was their chief. With a policy perfectly similar to that of Europe, he wished to derive advantages to his own tribe from the follies, jealousies and wars of the belligerent powers. His wish and view was to prevent the peace between the French and the Five Nations. If he could effect this purpose, it would secure his own tribe from the attacks of the French or Iroquois, render their friendship of much importance to both, and, at the same time, secure his own influence, popularity and power with his own tribe. To effect these purposes, he put himself at the head of one hundred men, and marched to intercept the ambassadors of the Five Nations, who were going to complete the business of peace with the French governor. At one of the falls of Cadaraqui river, he met the Iroquois ambassadors; killed some, took others prisoners, and informed them that it was the French governor that had given him intelligence that fifty warriors of the Five Nations were coming that way.

“ To be betrayed by the person with whom they had agreed upon a treaty, and were now going to confirm it, and, at the same time, to be delivered into the hands of a party with whom they were at war, exceeded all the conceptions the savages had been able to form of duplicity, perfidy and baseness; and, in their rage against Denonville, they declared to Adario the nature of their business, and the design of their journey. Adario instantly put on all the appearances of anger, shame and distress, at being made the executioner of Denonville’s baseness and treachery. He flew to the principal of the ambassadors, cut his bands, and set him at liberty.

'Go,' says he, 'my brother; return to your nation, and tell them it was the French who led me to commit so base and vile an action as to make an attack upon the messengers of peace. Though our nations are at war, you are at liberty; and I shall never be at rest till you have revenged upon the French the base and perfidious conduct into which they have betrayed me.' By these arts, similar to those of more polished nations, Adario secured peace for his own tribe, and left the contending powers more exasperated against each other than they had ever been before.

"The intelligence soon reached the Five Nations, that their ambassadors had been intercepted and assaulted by the contrivance of the French governor; and they did not doubt of the truth of the information. The whole nation vowed revenge, and agreed to make retaliation. Twelve hundred of their warriors, animated with the fiercest feelings of the savage heart, set out on a march to Montreal. The inhabitants, unacquainted with the attack upon the ambassadors, and believing that peace was made with the Five Nations, were in perfect tranquillity, without any preparation for, or apprehension of danger. While the city was thus serene, and without fear, the storm of vengeance gathered and burst. On the 26th of July, the Indian warriors landed on the south side of the island of Montreal, and immediately began their assault upon every part of the city. Nothing could exceed the destruction which the savages carried with them. They burnt the houses, sacked the plantations, and put to death every man, woman and child, which they could find without the fortifications. 1000 of the French were slain in this massacre, and 26 were carried into captivity, and burnt at the stake; and so great was the consternation of the French, that the Indians lost but three of their number, while they carried destruction and carnage through the whole island. Not satisfied with the calamities they had already occasioned, in October the Indians made another descent upon the island; again destroyed the lower part of it, killed several of the inhabitants, and took many prisoners.

"At no time had Canada ever before met with so heavy a misfortune. The very news carried defeat, as well as alarm,

along with it. On receiving the tidings, the garrison at lake Ontario set fire to two barks, which they had just completed, and abandoned the fort, leaving a match to 28 barrels of powder, disposed with a design to blow up the works. The troops went down the river with such rapidity and fear, that one of their batteaux, with her crew, was swallowed up in one of the falls. The confederates were in all the animation and insolence of victory ; they seized the fort at Cadaraqui, with all the powder and stores ; they sent their scouts every where, to invade the frontiers, and break up the settlements in Canada. The French were involved in every kind of difficulty and danger ; their borders were invested, inroads made on their oldest plantations, their new settlements breaking up ; it became difficult and dangerous to cultivate the lands, or to gather in the harvest : and to all the miseries and calamities of war were now added the distresses of famine, to complete their catalogue of woes. Their Indian friends and allies forsook them, and made peace with the Iroquois and English. Two only of the Indian tribes adhered to the French in their calamity ; and these were too much dispirited to attempt any thing in their favor ; and it was only in the cities of Quebec, Trois Rivieres and Montreal, that the inhabitants of the colony found any safety. The savages knew not how to approach, or to carry any fortified works ; and the French availed themselves of this circumstance, till the affairs of the colony took a different turn.”*

SEC. X. 1690. Count Frontenac detached several parties of French and Indians from Canada to take different routes into the English territories. One party, consisting of 150 French and Indian traders, and as many Indians, surprised and destroyed Schenectady. The assault was made about 12 o'clock on Saturday night, and 60 men, women and children were massacred.

Never was a place more completely surprised. The inhabitants had no intimation of their approach, until their doors were

* Williams.

broken open, and the enemy entered, and began the perpetration of the most inhuman barbarities. No tongue, says col. Schuyler, can express the cruelties that were committed. Those who made their escape fled naked towards Albany through a deep snow, which fell that night in a terrible storm; and 25 of these fugitives lost their limbs in the flight, through the severity of the frost.

"The news of this awful tragedy reached Albany about break of day. A universal dread and consternation seized the inhabitants. The enemy were reported to be 1400 in number; and many of the citizens of Albany entertained the idea that the best method was to destroy the city, and abandon that part of the country. But Schuyler and others roused and rallied the inhabitants. A party of horse was soon sent off to Schenectady, but they were not strong enough to venture a battle. The enemy kept possession of the place till the next day at noon; and, having plundered the whole village, they went off with 40 of the best horses loaded with the spoil; the rest, with all the cattle they could find, lay slaughtered in the streets."*

SEC. XI. 1691. Col. Henry Sloughter arrived at New York with the commission of governor of the province. The first assembly, after the revolution, was holden on the ninth of April. The province was, by an act of the assembly, divided into ten counties.

The arbitrary acts of James were repealed, and the former privileges restored to the colony. Leisler and Milborne, having made a vain attempt to retain their authority, and refused to deliver up the fort to the governor, were condemned to death for high treason, and soon after executed. Sloughter died suddenly in July, 1691, and ended a short, but weak and turbulent administration.

* Williams.

Soon after the arrival of Sloughter, the question which had often been a subject of animated debate, whether the people of the colony had a right to be represented in assembly, or whether it was a privilege enjoyed through the grace of the crown, was again agitated by that body. A memorable act was passed by the legislature of the province, virtually declaring the right of representation, and several other of the principal and distinguished privileges of Englishmen. It was entitled "An act declaring what are the rights and privileges of their majesties' subjects within the province of New York." An act was likewise passed, that "no person, professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall be disturbed or questioned for different opinions in religion, if he do not disturb the public peace;" with a proviso, "that this act shall not extend to give liberty to any of the Romish religion to exercise their worship."

The distractions in the province so entirely engrossed the public attention, that the Indian allies, who had been left solely to contend against the common enemy, became extremely disaffected. In the summer of 1691, major Schuyler, with a party of Mohawks, passed through lake Champlain, and made a bold and successful irruption into the French settlements at the north end of the lake. The design in this descent was to animate the Indians, and continue their hostility to the French. They accordingly continued their hostilities against them, and, by frequent incursions, kept the country in constant alarm.

An Indian, called *Black Kettle*, commanded in these excursions of the Five Nations; and his success so exasperated the French, that they ordered an Indian prisoner to be burnt alive. The bravery of this savage was as extraordinary as the torments inflicted on him were cruel. He sung his military achievements without interruption, even while his bloody executioners practised all possible barbarities. They broiled his feet, thrust his fingers into red hot pipes, cut his joints, and twisted the sinews with bars of iron. After this, his scalp was ripped off, and hot sand poured on the wound.*

SEC. XII. 1692. On the death of governor Sloughter, the council committed the chief com-

* Smith.

mand to Richard Ingolsby. In August, col. Benjamin Fletcher arrived with a commission of governor. In the following year, he introduced the Episcopal church into the province.

Early in the year 1693, count Frontenac, with an army of 6 or 700 French and Indians, made an irruption into the territory of the Mohawks. In this descent, 300 of the Indians in the interest of the English were made prisoners.

Col. Schuyler, with a party from Albany, pursued the enemy, and several skirmishes ensued. When the French reached the north branch of Hudson's river, a cake of ice opportunely served them to cross it; and Schuyler, who had retaken about 50 Indians, desisted from the pursuit. The French, in this enterprise, lost about 80 men.

Both parties suffered severely, in this expedition, by the severity of the season and the want of provisions. The Indians under Schuyler, on his return from the pursuit, were so distressed, that they fed on the dead bodies of the French; while the enemy were so reduced, that they ate up their shoes before they arrived in Canada.*

During this season, Fletcher made an unsuccessful attempt to exercise command over the militia of Connecticut. By its charter, that state had exclusive power over its own militia; but, by the plenary powers vested in the governor of New York, he had also command over them. Fletcher, the governor, insisted on submission, which being refused, he went to Hartford, while the legislature were in session, to compel obedience.

He ordered his commission to be read to the trainbands of Hartford, then under exercise of their senior officer, captain Wadsworth. As soon as the reading commenced, the captain ordered the drums to beat. It was in vain that the governor

commanded silence. Three attempts were made to read, each of which was futile; the governor crying out, "Silence! silence!" and the captain vociferating, "Drum! drum!"

At length the governor, on being told by Wadsworth, that, if he again interrupted his drumming, he would "make the sun shine through him," relinquished all hope of success against such obstinacy, and returned to New York.

SEC. XIII. Mr. Fletcher's administration was characterized by much turbulence, and frequent disagreement between him and the assembly. The raising and appropriating the revenue, and the religious concerns of the colony, constituted the usual subjects of controversy. He left the province in 1695.

An act had been passed by the assembly for the support and encouragement of the clergy. Fletcher, who was a bigoted Episcopalian, made efforts to have the act so framed, that the appropriations might be exclusively devoted to the Episcopal clergy.

In their session of April, on receiving a petition from the church-wardens and vestrymen of the city of New York, the house declared it to be their opinion, "that the vestrymen and church-wardens have a power to call a dissenting Protestant minister, and that he is to be paid and maintained as the act directs."

Trinity church, in the city of New York, was built in the following year; and the Reformed Protestant Dutch church incorporated. The city, at this time, contained 594 houses, and 6000 inhabitants. The shipping of New York consisted of 40 ships, 62 sloops, and 60 boats.

SEC. XIV. In 1696, Frontenac made another irruption with a large force, and carried devastation into the possessions of the Five Nations. After this expedition, small parties of the Indians in the English interest continued to harass the inhabitants near Montreal; and similar par-

ties in the French interest to harass those near Albany, until the peace of Ryswick, in 1697.

The last expedition against the confederates was undertaken by Frontenac in 1697. He landed at Oswego with a powerful force, and marched to the Onondaga lake. He found their principal village burnt and abandoned. He sent 700 men to destroy the Oneida castle, who took a few prisoners. An Onondaga chief, upwards of 100 years old, was captured in the woods, and abandoned to the fury of the French savages. After sustaining the most horrid tortures with more than stoical fortitude, the only complaint he was heard to utter was, when one of them, actuated by compassion, or, probably, by rage, stabbed him repeatedly with a knife, in order to put a speedy end to his existence. "Thou ought not," said he, "to abridge my life, that thou might have time to learn to die like a man. For my own part, I die contented, because I know no meanness with which to reproach myself." After this tragedy, the count thought it prudent to retire with his army; and probably he would have fallen a victim to his temerity, if the Senecas had not been kept at home, from a false report, that they were to be attacked at the same time by the Ottawas.*

SEC. XV. 1698. Richard, earl of Bellomont, who had been appointed, the previous year, to succeed Fletcher, arrived, and assumed the government. The assembly of the province, at this time, consisted of but 19 members.

In the following year, M. de Callieres, succeeding count Frontenac as governor of Canada, terminated the existing disputes between the French and the Five Nations, by agreeing to have an exchange of prisoners at Onondaga.

When the French commissioners came to Onondaga, De canesora, one of the deputies of the Five Nations, met them without the gate, and complimented them with three strings of wampum. "By the first, he wiped away their tears for the French who had been slain in the war; by the second, he opened their

* Clinton, in *Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*

mouths that they might speak freely (that is, promised freedom of speech); by the third, he cleaned the mat, on which they were to sit, from the blood that had been spilt on both sides." It is observable, that the Indian council refused to hear the French, or to give them an answer, but in the presence of the commissioners from Albany. Bruyas, a Jesuit, one of the French commissioners, offering a belt, in token of his readiness to stay with them, the grand council immediately rejected it, saying, "We have already accepted Corlear's belt, by which he offers pastors to instruct us."*

In 1700, the assembly of the province passed an act against Jesuits and popish priests. The preamble states, that divers of them have come of late, and, for some time, have had their residence in the remote parts of the province, and other adjacent colonies, and have, by wicked and subtle insinuations, industriously labored to seduce the Indians from their due obedience to his majesty, and excite them to sedition, rebellion, and open hostility against his majesty's government. The act required every ecclesiastical person receiving his ordination from any authority derived from the pope or see of Rome, now residing within this province, to depart out of it before the first day of November.

SEC. XVI. Lord Bellomont died in March, 1701, and John Nanfan, who had been previously appointed lieutenant-governor, arrived soon after, and assumed the command. Lord Cornbury was appointed governor the following year. After an administration distinguished only by his oppression, avarice and injustice, he was superseded, in 1708, by lord Lovelace, who died in May of the following year, and a few months after his arrival in the province. On the death of Lovelace, the command devolved on Richard Ingolsby, the lieutenant-governor.

* Colden.

The war between England and France was again proclaimed in 1702 ; but, with the exception of an expedition against Canada some years after, its operations in the colony were not attended with any remarkable event.

In 1701, a court of chancery was organized in the province of New York. The Five Nations, the same year, put all their hunting grounds under the protection of the English. The assembly, premising that it would be to the honor of God and the welfare of the province, that the Five Nations should be instructed in the Protestant religion, passed an act, granting £60 a year to Bernardus Freeman, minister of the gospel at Schenectady, as his salary for instructing those Indians, and £15 a year for his charge and expense. During the summer of the following year, an uncommon mortality prevailed in the city of New York, which distinguished this period as "the time of the great sickness." Three years after, the city of New York was thrown into great consternation by the appearance of a French privateer in the harbor.

A fruitless attempt was made, in 1709, to conquer Canada, in which the province of New York manifested a deep interest. Besides raising several companies, she procured 600 Indians, paid their wages, and maintained 1000 of their wives and children at Albany, while they were in the campaign, at the expense of above £20,000.

SEC. XVII. In 1710, col. Schuyler went to England, to inculcate on the ministry the absolute necessity of reducing Canada to the crown of Great Britain. The more effectually to accomplish this, he carried with him five Indian chiefs, who gave assurances to the queen of their fidelity, and solicited her assistance against their common enemies, the French.

"The arrival of these sachems in England occasioned great observation through the kingdom. Wherever they went, the mob followed them ; and small prints of them were sold among the

people. The court being at that time in mourning for the prince of Denmark, these aboriginal princes were, therefore, dressed in black under-clothes, after the English manner; but, instead of a blanket, they had each a scarlet ingrain cloth mantle, edged with gold, thrown over their other garments. The audience, which they had of her majesty, was attended with unusual solemnity. Sir Charles Cotterel conducted them in two coaches to St. James's; and the lord chamberlain introduced them into the royal presence. One of them, after a brief and pertinent introduction to his speech, proceeded to observe:—‘ We were mightily rejoiced, when we heard our great queen had resolved to send an army to reduce Canada; and immediately, in token of friendship, we hung up the kettle, and took up the hatchet, and, with one consent, assisted colonel Nicholson in making preparations on this side the lake; but at length we were told, our great queen, by some important affairs, was prevented in her design at present, which made us sorrowful. The reduction of Canada is of great weight to our free hunting; so that, if our great queen should not be mindful of us, we must, with our families, forsake our country, and seek other habitations, or stand neuter.’ At the close of this speech, they presented belts of wampum to the queen, in the name, and in token of the sincerity, of the Five Nations.”*

* Holmes’s Annals.

CHAP. VII.

FROM 1710 TO 1743.

Hunter's Administration. Expedition against Canada. Administration of Burnet, Montgomery, Crosby and Clarke.

SEC. I. 1710. Col. Robert Hunter was appointed governor of the province, and arrived in June. He brought over with him near 3000 Palatines, who had fled to England, the year before, from the rage of persecution in Germany. Many of these people settled in the city of New York ; others, on a tract of several thousand acres in the manor of Livingston ; while others went into Pennsylvania.

SEC. II. In 1711, Nicholson went to England, and solicited another expedition against Canada, which was granted, and an armament ordered, proportional to the magnitude of the enterprise. New York, New England, New Jersey and Pennsylvania provided the quotas of men intended for the expedition.

Soon after his return from Europe, Nicholson proceeded to Albany, to take command of the troops of Connecticut, New York and New Jersey, consisting of about 1000 Palatines, who had come to New York some time before, 600 Indians, and the regiments commanded by colonels Whiting, Schuyler and Ingolsby ; amounting, in the whole, to upwards of 4000.

The fleet, consisting of 15 men of war, 40 transports, 6 store-ships, and an excellent train of artillery, under the command of sir Hovenden Walker, set sail from Boston, with a

land army, consisting of five regiments from Europe, and two from Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire; making, in all, about 7000.

The admiral arrived in the St. Lawrence early in August, and, on the 22d, in a thick fog and high wind, the fleet was driven on the rocks and shoals of the north shore. Eight or nine of the British transports were lost, and above 1000 lives, besides great damage done to the vessels saved. The admiral bore away for Spanish bay, where, after full consultation, it was agreed to abandon the expedition.

Gen. Nicholson, who had proceeded as far as lake George with his troops, received information of the failure of the enterprise, and retreated.

SEC. III. The conquest of Canada had been an object of earnest desire and sanguine expectation to the colony; and the failure of this last enterprise was attended by circumstances equally mortifying and calamitous. They had suffered heavy losses, and were again exposed to the depredations of their ancient foe. The war was, however, terminated, in 1713, by the treaty of Utrecht, and their apprehensions, for the present, relieved.

In 1712, the Tuscarora Indians, after having been defeated in an attempt to exterminate the English settlers in North Carolina, abandoned their country, and repaired to the Five Nations, who received them into their confederacy, and made them the sixth nation.

The same year, the Negroes in New York, in the execution of a plot to set fire to the city, burned a house in the night, and killed several people, who came to extinguish the fire. Nineteen of the incendiaries were afterwards executed.

SEC. IV. During the early part of Hunter's administration, much controversy subsisted between the different departments of government

and their respective partisans. His exercising the office of chancellor was received with high disapprobation by a large portion of the inhabitants. Before his leaving the province, they appear to have become reconciled, and the most perfect amity and concord to have subsisted.

Hunter, by the advice of his council, began to exercise the office of chancellor in October, 1712. Van Dam and Philipse were appointed masters, Whillman, register, Harrison, examiner, and Sharpes and Broughton, clerks. A proclamation was then issued to signify the sitting of the court, which gave rise to the two following resolutions of the house:—"Resolved, that the erecting a court of chancery, without consent in general assembly, is contrary to law, and of dangerous consequence to the liberty and property of the subjects; and, That the establishing fees, without consent in general assembly, is contrary to law." The assembly were prorogued the next session.

Hunter left the province in 1719, and the command devolved on Peter Schuyler. During his short administration, Schuyler conducted the affairs of the colony with prudence and integrity. Little is observable in his time, except a treaty at Albany, with the Indians, for confirming the ancient league.

SEC. V. 1720. On the 17th of September, William Burnet, esq. assumed the government of the province, and soon after obtained an act from the assembly, prohibiting the trade between New York and Canada. This prohibitory act had a very beneficial effect on the interests of the colony.

From the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, a considerable trade was carried on between Albany and Canada, for goods saleable among the Indians. The object of this act was to

draw the Indian trade into New York, and to obstruct the communication between the French and the Indian allies, which gave them frequent opportunities of seducing them from their fidelity, and to regain the Caghauagas, who had become interested in their disaffection, by being the carriers between Albany and Montreal. The chiefs of the Indian confederates, foreseeing the ill consequences of this trade, had complained of it to the commissioners of Indian affairs. The commissioners had written a letter to governor Hunter, acquainting him with the dissatisfaction of the Indians; but, though it was laid before the house, no effectual measure had been previously adopted.

SEC. VI. In 1722, for the purpose of securing the benefit of the trade and friendship of the Six Nations, governor Burnet erected a trading-house at Oswego, in the country of the Senecas.

This establishment naturally excited the jealousy of the French, who, in 1726, launched two vessels into lake Ontario, and transported materials to Niagara, for building a store-house, and repairing the fort. Their object was not only to secure the entrance into the west end of the lake, but, likewise, to carry their trade more westerly, and thus render Oswego useless, by shortening the travels of the western Indians near 200 miles.

SEC. VII. In 1727, Burnet erected a fort for the protection of the establishments at Oswego, and made all the exertions in his power to defeat the designs of the French at Niagara. He was, however, much embarrassed by the opposition he received from the assembly.

The prohibitory act, passed soon after his arrival, notwithstanding its salutary influence on the interests of the colony, was extremely unpopular. This, with several decrees in chancery, and other untoward circumstances, proved the source of a violent and unreasonable opposition in the assembly.

SEC. VIII. A new assembly met in September, but consisted entirely of members disaffected

to the governor. They were dissolved by him; and he immediately resigned the government, and was appointed to the command of Massachusetts bay. Notwithstanding the turbulence of Burnet's administration, no one ever conducted the affairs of the colony with more ability and integrity.

SEC. IX. 1728. James Montgomery, esq., having been appointed to supersede Burnet, arrived, and, April 15th, received the great seal of the province, and assumed the government.

In the following year, the acts of Mr. Burnet were repealed by the king, and the trade between Albany and Montreal encouraged, though much to the prejudice of the national interest. Montgomery's short administration presents a period of great tranquillity, and was not distinguished by any remarkable event.

Governor Montgomery removed the two causes, which had previously disturbed the public tranquillity, by dissolving the assembly soon after his arrival, and declining to sit as chancellor, until required to exercise that office by special orders from England. A new assembly was called in July, and, among other laws, an act passed granting a five years' support to the governor. On the first of October, he held a treaty with the Six Nations, at Albany, for a renewal of the ancient covenant. He gave them presents, and engaged them in the defence of Oswego. Nothing could have been more seasonable than this interview; for the French, regarding with jealousy, the garrison, and increasing trade at that place, were preparing, early in the spring following, to demolish the works. On receiving intelligence of their designs, the garrison was immediately reënforced by a detachment from the independent companies; which, with the declared resolution of the Indians to protect the

fort, induced the French to desist from the intended invasion.*

SEC. X. 1731. Governor Montgomery died in July, and the command devolved upon Rip Van Dam, esq., who was the oldest counsellor.

This administration was unfortunately signalized by the memorable encroachment at Crown Point. By the erection of fort St. Frederick, the French secured the absolute command of lake Champlain.

SEC. XI. 1732. In August, William Crosby, esq. arrived with a commission to govern the province, and commenced his administration under the most favorable auspices.

Attempts had been made, the preceding year, in the British parliament, for the encouragement of the sugar colonies, and the consequent depression of the American trade. These attempts had excited general apprehension in the colony of New York, for the safety of her commerce.

Governor Crosby, while in England, had been very active in his opposition to these measures. The inhabitants of New York were, on this account, deeply prejudiced in his favor, and no appointment could, at this time, have been made more in accordance with their wishes.

On his arrival, he issued his proclamation adjourning the assembly to the 19th of August. One of the first acts of this body, upon their meeting, was to vote an address to his excellency, congratulating him on his safe arrival, and returning him the thanks of the house for his opposition, while in England, to the act in favor of the sugar islands.

The governor, in his communications to the house, intimated his confidence in receiving from it a revenue, in as full and ample a manner as had been granted in former assemblies, and directed their attention to the garrison at Oswego, repre-

* Smith.

senting the place to be in a ruinous condition, and its importance in securing and maintaining the Indian trade. The assembly, in its answer to the governor, was profuse in terms of respect, but cautious in committing itself on the subject of revenue.

SEC. XII. The finances were at this time much embarrassed, while the frequent demands for supplies had imposed a serious burthen upon the colony, and afforded much reason for complaint. The wars between France and England had almost drained its resources, and subjected it to a heavy debt.

The assembly, however, proceeded to make liberal appropriations for the several objects proposed by the governor. In addition to the numerous others, bills were passed for encouraging a public school to teach Latin, Greek, and the mathematics; for discharging the demands upon the trading-house at Oswego, and for confirming to the city of New York its rights and privileges. The house, at the same time, established the salary of the governor at £1560 per ann.; that of the chief justice, at £300; and that of the second justice, at £180.

In 1734, accounts having been received from Europe, indicating an approaching war between France and England, liberal appropriations were made for putting the colony in a better posture of defence. The assembly voted £6000 for fortifying the city of New York; £4000 for erecting a stone fort and other conveniences for soldiers and artillery at Albany; £800 for a fort and block-houses at Schenectady; and £500 for managing the Senecas, and, if practicable, for building fortifications in their country.

SEC. XIII. 1734. The subject of establishing a court of equity was agitated in the assembly. The governors had previously exercised the office of chancellor. This exercise of power had, for a long time, excited the jealousy of the colonists, and been productive of much rancorous controversy. After an animated debate, the

assembly were unable to come to any resolution.

The court party had insisted, that the governor was, *ex officio*, chancellor of the colony; while the popular party had warmly opposed this position, and denied that such a court could exist, unless by prescription, or by act of parliament.

Some time after the close of the session, certain publications appeared in a paper, called "Zenger's New York Weekly Journal," which contained severe animadversions on the government. This paper was supposed to be published under the patronage of Mr. Van Dam, and was, of course, decidedly hostile to the court.

Several printed ballads likewise appeared, which placed some of the members of the legislature in a ludicrous point of view, insomuch that the governor and council considered the subject worthy of notice.

They voted, that the obnoxious numbers of Zenger's paper, and two printed ballads, were derogatory to the dignity of his majesty's government; that they contained reflections upon the legislature, and the most distinguished persons in the colony, and tended to raise sedition and tumult. They likewise voted, that said papers and ballads should be burnt by the common hangman.

The attorney-general, afterwards, filed an information against Zenger for these libels, upon which he was acquitted, after having lain in prison eight months. His acquittal was generally satisfactory. The common council of New York, for "his learned and generous defence of the rights of mankind, and the liberty of the press," presented Mr. Andrew Hamilton, one of Zenger's counsel, with the freedom of the city, and their thanks for his distinguished services on this occasion. The freedom of the city was presented in a gold box, on which were several classical inscriptions, highly complimentary to Mr. Hamilton.

SEC. XIV. Notwithstanding the favorable circumstances, under which Crosby commenced his administration, it became, during the latter

part, extremely unpopular, and experienced a violent and powerful opposition.

The long continuance of the assembly without a re-election afforded just ground for complaint. This body repeatedly petitioned the governor to be dissolved, so as to enable its constituents to signify, by the elective franchise, their opinion of the measures it had pursued.

The governor, who was well aware that a new assembly would be less conformable to his views, refused to dissolve them, and, resisting every effort for a re-election, continued them through the whole of his administration.

Among the last acts of gov. Crosby, was his declaring Rip Van Dam, esq. suspended from his seat, as counsellor of the province. Van Dam was extremely obnoxious to the governor, and, upon the governor's demise, being senior counsellor, would have again succeeded to the government, as president of the colony.

SEC. XV. Governor Crosby died on the 7th of March, 1736.

No governor commenced an administration with better prospects and greater popularity, or endeavored less to retain the confidence and respect of the people. With high opinions of prerogative, and decided hostility to free and equal legislation, he became at length odious to the colony, and many of his best friends deserted him.

Yet his amiable qualities must not be forgotten. He was affable and courteous in his deportment, honest and sincere in his private transactions. Though not possessed of talents either splendid or great, he was attentive to the concerns of the colony, and to the fair and impartial administration of justice.

SEC. XVI. 1736. After the death of gov. Crosby, the council were immediately convened, and George Clarke, the senior counsellor next

after Rip Van Dam, was declared president, and assumed the government.

A powerful party was, however, formed in favor of Mr. Van Dam, and his suspension from the council was, by many, declared to be arbitrary and illegal.

The council, who were almost unanimous in the support of Mr. Clarke, voted, that provision should be made against any disturbances that might ensue. Orders were issued, forbidding any person to recognise the pretensions of Mr. Van Dam. A large quantity of gunpowder was directed to be procured, and to be placed in the fort for defence.

Mr. Van Dam was not deterred by the menacing attitude of affairs, but proceeded to call the council, and assumed the title of commander in-chief and president of the colony. He appointed several of the chartered officers of the city, and was about to exercise other powers incident to the office he had assumed.

SEC. XVII. In the midst of this contention, and by the advice of the council, Mr. Clarke convened the assembly, by whom he was recognised as president of the colony. On the 30th of October, he received from England the commission of lieutenant-governor, which was published with the usual solemnities. This event put an end to the claims of Mr. Van Dam.

In his address to the assembly, Mr. Clarke alluded to the unhappy divisions which had arisen in the colony, and strongly recommended the legislature to provide for its defence, safety and prosperity. He directed their attention to the deficiencies in the revenue, and the importance of ship-building. He requested the house to provide for the finishing of fortifications already commenced, particularly fort Hunter, which he represented to be in a ruinous condition, and the establishment at Oswego, which was in want of repairs.

SEC. XVIII. The assembly proceeded to act on the subjects recommended, but, in their appropriations, expressly limited the revenue to be raised to the specific deficiencies reported to the house. The lieutenant-governor, wishing to have the direction of the revenue, took offence at these limitations, and dissolved the assembly.

At the new elections, the people were much divided, and great exertions were made by the contending parties for success. The popular party were, however, triumphant. The new assembly was more decidedly opposed to the views of the lieutenant-governor than the old, and their controversies continued to embroil the colony during the whole of his administration.

In these contests, the assembly were generally successful. In their second session, 1737, the house departed from their accustomed mode of proceeding, and, instead of voting to take the governor's speech into consideration, voted, that his honor, the lieutenant-governor, be addressed. This address was a bold and decided *expose* of their sentiments, and sufficiently evinces the proud and unbroken spirit of the colonists, incapable of being awed or soothed into submission by the arts or power of their rulers. Both in style and matter, it is a remarkable production, and highly honorable to the times in which it was formed.

On the subject of revenue, the house adopted the following energetic language:—"We, therefore, beg leave to be plain with your honor, and hope you will not take it amiss, when we tell you, that you are not to expect, that we either will raise sums unfit to be raised, or put what we shall raise into the power of a governor to misapply, if we can prevent it; nor shall we make up any other deficiencies than what we conceive are fit and just to be paid, or continue what support or revenue we shall raise for any longer time than one year; nor do we

think it convenient to do even that, until such laws are passed as we conceive necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony, who have reposed a trust in us for that only purpose, and which we are sure you will think it reasonable we should act agreeable to; and, by the grace of God, we shall endeavor not to deceive them."

The character of the assembly, at this period, for firmness, in what it deemed the essential interests of the colony, cannot be disputed. The legislature, which had previously been mostly under the control of the governors, now began to perceive its importance in the scale of government. It possessed the germ of that independence and freedom, which afterwards ripened, and displayed itself in securing the liberties of our country. It felt the dignity due to its own character, and neither ministerial smiles nor frowns could sway it from the path of duty.

To repair the misconduct of the government in permitting the French to build a fort at Crown Point, a scheme was projected, in 1737, for settling the lands near lake George with loyal Protestant Highlanders from Scotland. Capt. Laughlin Campbell, encouraged by a proclamation, came over to America, and viewed those lands; and obtained a promise from the government of a grant of 30,000 acres, free from all charges but those of the survey and the king's quit rent. Campbell went home to Isla, sold his estate, and, shortly after, transported, at his own expense, 83 Protestant families, consisting of 423 adults, beside a great number of children. Through the sinister views of some persons in power, the project was not carried into effect; and Campbell, after seeking in vain for redress, left the colonists to themselves, and, with the poor remains of his broken fortune, purchased a small farm in the province.*

In 1738, capt. Norris, of the ship *Tartar*, then lying in the harbor of New York, made application to the mayor for liberty to impress thirty seamen to man his vessel. The governor and council ordered the mayor to cause the impressment to be made. The mayor peremptorily refused to obey the order, and the governor and council prudently declined taking any measures to compel obedience.

* Smith.

In 1741, the Negroes formed a plot to burn the city. One hundred and fifty-four were committed to prison, of whom fourteen were burnt at the stake, eighteen hanged, seventy-one transported, and the remainder pardoned or discharged for want of proof.

Twenty white persons were committed, of whom two only were executed. The city of New York contained, at this time, 12000 souls, of whom one sixth were slaves.

SEC. XIX. Governor Clarke closed his administration in September, 1743. Like that of his predecessor, it was distinguished by a strict and pertinacious adherence to prerogative, and presents little else than an arduous and continued struggle for ascendancy between the governor and the assembly, supported by their respective partisans.

With few exceptions, he evinced a strong desire to conciliate the affections of the people, and, apart from his notions of monarchy, he contributed much to the prosperity of the colony. His constant attention to the promotion of trade and commerce, entitled him to our applause.

CHAP. VIII.

FROM 1743 TO 1756.

George Clinton appointed Governor. War with France. Expedition against Louisburg. Incursions of the French and Indians. Operations of the War in 1746. Capture of the French Fleet. Indian Depredations. Termination of the War. Osborne appointed Governor, dies, and is succeeded by Delancey. Hostilities again commenced with the French. Colonial Convention. Hardy appointed Governor. Colonies prosecute the War.

SEC. I. 1743. His excellency George Clinton was appointed to supersede Mr. Clarke as governor of the colony. He arrived on the 23d of September, and assumed the administration of the government.

The arrival of governor Clinton was highly gratifying to the feelings of the colonists. The assembly was, according to custom, dissolved, and a new one elected. In addressing them, the language of the governor was mild and unassuming. Their reply was complimentary, and passed over in silence the former subjects of controversy between the executive and the assembly.

SEC. II. 1744. War was declared between France and England, and great preparations

were made on both sides for its prosecution. A similar spirit pervaded their respective colonies in America. Large appropriations were made, by the assembly of New York, for putting the country in a posture of defence.

SEC. III. In 1745, the English colonies united in forming an expedition against *Louisburg*, the capital of Cape Breton island, which was intrusted to the command of sir William Pepperell. This important fortress was surrendered by the French in June. Five thousand pounds were voted by the assembly of New York for the promotion of this enterprise.

The troops destined for this expedition, mostly from New England, were embarked at Canso, and the fleet, under general Pepperell and commodore Warren, arrived in Chapeaurouge bay, on the 13th of April. The enemy were, until this moment, in profound ignorance that any attack was meditated against them.

“ The sight of the transports gave the alarm to the French, and a detachment was sent to oppose the landing of the troops. But, while the general diverted the attention of the enemy by a feint at one place, he was landing his men at another.

“ The next morning, 400 of the English marched round the hills to the north-east harbor, setting fire to all the houses and stores, till they came within a mile of the royal battery. The conflagration of the stores, in which was a considerable quantity of tar, concealed the English troops, at the same time that it increased the alarm of the French so greatly, that they precipitately abandoned the royal battery. Upon their flight, the English took possession of it, and, by means of a well-directed fire from it, seriously damaged the town.

“ The main body of the army now commenced the siege. For 14 nights they were occupied in drawing cannon towards the town, over a morass, in which oxen and horses could not be

used. Incredible was the toil; but what could not men accomplish, who had been accustomed to draw the pines of the forest for masts? By the twentieth of May, several fascine batteries had been erected, one of which mounted five 42 pounders. On opening these batteries, they did great execution.

"In the meantime, commodore Warren captured the *Vigilant*, a French ship of 74 guns, and with her 560 men, together with great quantities of military stores. This capture was of great consequence, as it not only increased the English force, and added to their military supplies, but as it seriously lessened the strength of the enemy. Shortly after this capture, the number of the English fleet was considerably augmented by the arrival of several men of war. A combined attack by sea and land was now determined on, and fixed for the 18th of June.

"Previously to the arrival of this additional naval force, much had been accomplished towards the reduction of the place. The inland battery had been silenced; the western gate of the town was beaten down, and a breach effected in the wall; the circular battery of 16 guns was nearly ruined, and the western flank of the king's bastion was nearly demolished.

"Such being the injured state of the works, and perceiving preparations making for a joint assault, to sustain which little prospect remained, on the 15th, the enemy desired a cessation of hostilities, and on the 17th of June, after a siege of 49 days, the city of Louisburg and the island of Cape Breton were surrendered to his Britannic majesty.

"Thus successfully terminated a daring expedition, which had been undertaken without the knowledge of the mother country. The acquisition of the fortress of Louisburg was as useful and important to the colonies, and to the British empire, as its reduction was surprising to that empire, and mortifying to the court of France.

"Besides the stores and prizes which fell into the hands of the English, which were estimated at little less than a million sterling, security was given to the colonies in their fisheries; Nova Scotia was preserved, and the trade and fisheries of France nearly ruined."*

* Goodrich.

SEC. IV. During the operations at Louisburg, intelligence was received at New York, that 1500 French and 100 Indians intended to surprise the English settlements near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and on their return to attack Oswego.

An attempt was made by colonel Schuyler and major Collins to erect block-houses at Saratoga, but was frustrated by the great numbers of the enemy's Indians, who were constantly on the watch, and cutting off supplies and troops. The inhabitants of Albany and the adjacent country became alarmed for their safety ; and murders and robberies were frequently committed by the Indians within a few miles of the city.

A draft of 200 men was made for the relief of Albany and Schenectady. The town of Hoosic was deserted by its inhabitants, and, towards the close of the year, the settlements at Saratoga were almost literally depopulated.

The houses and fort were burnt, and many shocking barbarities committed by the Indians, who, in accordance with their ancient mode of warfare, scalped the men, women and children who fell into their hands. The New England colonies experienced similar incursions.

SEC. V. 1746. The success of the expedition to Cape Breton led the colonies to project the conquest of Canada.

The plan was, that a squadron, under the command of admiral Warren, and a body of land

forces under gen. St. Clair, should be sent from England ; that the troops, raised from the New England colonies, should join the British fleet and army at Louisburg, and proceed up the river St. Lawrence ; and that those of New York, and other colonies at the south, should be collected at Albany, and march against Crown Point and Montreal.

The colonies, pleased with the measure, furnished their quotas of men ; but no armament arrived from England ; and it was resolved to employ the forces in an attempt against the French at Crown Point. Governor Clinton engaged the assistance of the Six Nations.

In the midst of these preparations, intelligence was received, that a large fleet from France had arrived at Nova Scotia, under the command of the duke D'Anville. It consisted of 40 ships of war, exclusive of transports ; and brought over about 4000 regular troops, with supplies of military stores.

SEC. VI. The expedition against Canada was abandoned, and vigorous measures taken for the defence of the colonies. Their apprehensions were soon after relieved by intelligence of the misfortunes of the enemy.

The French fleet had sustained much damage by storms, and great loss by shipwrecks. Sickness prevailed among their troops. D'Anville was seized with an apoplectic fit, and suddenly expired. The remainder of the squadron was overtaken by a severe tempest off cape Sable,

and the few ships that escaped destruction returned singly to France.

During the summer of the present year, (1746,) the city of Albany was visited by a contagious disease, which proved mortal to a great number of its inhabitants. In its appearance and effects, it resembled the disease which has since been called the *yellow fever*. Of the Indians, then encamped near the city, many became victims to this disease, and the governor discharged the others, on account of the ravages of the contagion. The disease subsided as the cold season approached, and by winter it had wholly disappeared.

Considerable difference of opinion had, for some time, existed between the governor and the assembly. Much warmth of feeling was manifested, and this increasing dissension was productive of serious inconvenience to the warlike operations of the colony.

The governor charged the house with culpable neglect in providing for the defence of the colony. This was highly resented by the assembly, who, in return, charged the governor with fraud and mismanagement in the administration of the government. The embarrassed state of the finances, arising from the expenses of the war, and the predatory excursions of the Indians, imposed a heavy burthen upon the inhabitants.

An event occurred, during the present season, which tended not a little to keep up the controversy between the governor and the legislature. On the refusal of the commissioners, appointed to purchase provisions for the forces raised by the colony in the expedition against Canada, to appropriate certain provisions for the supply of four independent companies of fusileers, the provisions were forcibly seized and appropriated by order of the governor. The house was highly inflamed by this act of violence, and passed several spirited resolutions, declaring the seizure to be arbitrary, illegal, and a manifest violation of the rights and liberties of the subject. After some concessions on the part of the governor, the assembly were, however, apparently conciliated.*

SEC. VII. 1747. The French fitted out

* Smith.

another expedition, consisting of six ships of the line, six frigates and four armed East India ships, with 29 merchant ships and transports. They were overtaken by a superior British squadron under admirals Anson and Warren, and, after a sanguinary engagement, were compelled to surrender.

During this season, Saratoga again experienced an incursion of the French and Indians. The village, containing 30 families, was destroyed, and the inhabitants massacred. Towards the close of this year, a general inactivity characterized the measures of the belligerent powers. Both parties, mutually exhausted, appeared verging towards a general pacification.

SEC. VIII. 1748. In April, the preliminaries were signed at Aix la Chapelle, and a cessation of hostilities was soon after proclaimed. The definitive treaty was completed on the 7th of October. Prisoners, on both sides, were to be released without ransom, and all conquests to be restored.

After the close of the war, the colony enjoyed, for several years, a period of general tranquillity. Released from the apprehensions of hostile irruptions, the inhabitants vigorously addressed themselves to the arts of peace ; and, by industry, economy and enterprise, they, in a great measure, repaired the losses sustained by the preceding war. The increase of commerce, and the rapid extension of their settlements, evince the success that attended their exertions.

In 1750, the entries at New York were 232, and the clearances 286. Above 6000 tons of provisions, chiefly flour, were exported, besides large quantities of grain.

SEC. IX. 1753. Governor Clinton having resigned, sir Danvers Osborne was appointed to succeed him, as governor of the colony. He took his seat at the council-board on the 10th of October, and died on the 12th. James Delancey, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor by one of the last acts of governor Clinton, assumed the administration of the government.

The tragical fate of governor Osborne deserves a more particular notice. He put an end to his existence by hanging himself in the garden of Mr. Murray, with whom he resided. The act was supposed to have been perpetrated under the influence of insanity, occasioned by embarrassments, which, he apprehended, would attend the exercise of his commission.

Mr. Smith, after detailing the particulars relative to this event, observes, "A point of honor and duty, in a foreseen difficulty to reconcile his conduct with his majesty's instructions, very probably, gave his heart a fatal stab, and produced that terrible disorder in his mind, which occasioned his laying violent hands upon himself."

SEC. X. The colony had scarcely begun to realize the benefits of peace, when they were again menaced with foreign war. By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, the controversy between the two crowns, relative to their claims in America, was referred to commissioners, to be appointed by the two sovereigns, for that purpose. These commissioners met the preceding year at Paris, and, after making laborious efforts to establish

the claims of their respective sovereigns, were unable to come to any agreement.

The settlements of the English and French colonies were, in the mean time, approximating nearer to each other, and their respective leaders were anxious to secure the most eligible situations for trading-houses and forts. Mutual complaints of aggression were soon followed by acts of open hostility. The British ministry, on being made acquainted with the claims of the French, without a formal declaration of war, directed the colonies to resist their encroachments by force of arms.

SEC. XI. 1754. A convention of delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and Maryland, with the lieutenant-governor and council of New York, was held at Albany, for the purpose of uniting upon some scheme for the common defence of the colonies.

A plan of union was adopted, in several of its features resembling the present constitution of the United States; but it had the singular fortune to be rejected by the provincial assemblies, because it gave too much power to the crown, and, at the same time, to be rejected by the crown, because it gave too much power to the people.

“According to this plan, a grand council was to be formed of members chosen by the provincial assemblies, and sent from all the colonies; which council, with a governor-general, appointed by the crown, and having a negative voice, should

be empowered to make general laws, to raise money in all the colonies for their defence, to call forth troops, regulate trade, lay duties, &c. &c."

"The plan, thus matured, was approved and signed on the 4th of July, the day that Washington surrendered fort Necessity, and 22 years before the declaration of independence, by all the delegates, excepting those from Connecticut, who objected to the negative voice of the governor-general."

"One circumstance, in the history of this plan, deserves here to be recorded, as evincing the dawning spirit of the revolution. Although the plan was rejected by the provincial assemblies, they declared, without reserve, that, if it were adopted, they would undertake to defend themselves from the French, without any assistance from Great Britain. They required but to be left to employ their supplies in their own way, to effect their security and predominance."

During the present year, several gentlemen in the city of New York, at the head of whom was lieutenant-governor De Lancey, made exertions for the establishment of a college. An act had been passed, in 1753, appointing trustees for this purpose, and making some provision for a fund by a succession of lotteries. In October of the present year, a charter was passed, incorporating several persons *ex officio*, and 24 principal gentlemen of the city, including some of the clergy of different denominations, and their successors, by the name and title of "the governors of the college of the province of New York, in the city of New York, in America." Dr. Samuel Johnson, a learned and respectable minister of the Episcopal church in Stratford, Connecticut, was appointed in the charter the first president, and the president was ever after to be in the communion of the church of England. An institution was likewise, the same year, projected, for promoting a spirit of inquiry among the people, by a loan of books to non-subscribers. The trustees were annually eligible by the subscribers, and had the disposal of the contributions, with the appointment of the librarian and clerk. Nearly £600 were raised, and a foundation was laid for an institution, ornamental to the metropolis, and useful to the colony. The

books were deposited in the town hall. Gov. Tryon afterward gave the trustees a charter.*

SEC. XII. 1755. Sir Charles Hardy arrived in September with the commission of governor, which was published with the usual solemnities. During his residence in the colony, he appears to have been principally under the influence of Delancey, to whom, on leaving, he committed the government. In 1757, he embarked with a command in the expedition against Louisburg, and Delancey resumed the administration, as lieutenant-governor.

The raising of revenue for defraying the expenses of the civil list, and of supplies for the defence of the country, and the prosecution of the war, in common with the other colonies, comprised, during this period, the most important acts of government. The city of New York contained, at this time, 2000 houses, and about 12,000 inhabitants.

Liberal appropriations were made for putting the province in a posture of defence, and for the prosecution of the designs against the French. In February, 1755, 45,000 pounds were voted for these objects, and bills of credit to that amount, redeemable on the collection of the money by taxes, were immediately issued. In May, a levy of 800 men was ordered, by the legislature, to cooperate with the forces from the other colonies in the expedition against Canada, and 10,000 pounds appropriated towards defraying the expense of the enterprise. Laws were also passed authorizing the impressment of ship-carpenters, joiners and other laborers for building boats, and the seizure of horses, wagons and boats for the public service. By another act, passed the same year, every male, between

* Holmes's Annals.

16 and 60, was required to enrol himself in the militia. Slaves, in cases of imminent danger, were required to do military duty. By the same act, any slave or slaves, above the age of 14, who should be found a mile or more from the plantation of his or their master, without a certificate signifying the business he or they might be sent on, should be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. It was, also, made lawful for any person or persons, finding such slave or slaves, to shoot or destroy him or them, without being liable to prosecution or impeachment for the same.

SEC. XIII. Early in the spring of 1755, the colonies made preparations for vigorous exertions against the enemy. An expedition was planned against the French in Nova Scotia; *another* against the French on the Ohio; a *third* against Crown Point; and a *fourth* against Niagara.

SEC. XIV. The first expedition resulted in the entire reduction of Nova Scotia, and the acquisition of large quantities of provisions and military stores. That against the French on the Ohio, owing to the imprudence of general Braddock, the commander, was peculiarly unfortunate. When within seven miles of fort du Quesne,* they were surprised by a body of French and Indians, and, after an action of three hours, Braddock, under whom five horses had been killed, was mortally wounded, and his troops defeated.

When within 12 or 14 miles of fort du Quesne, Braddock was advised by his officers to proceed with caution; and was earnestly entreated by colonel Washington, his aid, to permit him to precede the army, and guard against surprise.

* Now Pittsburg.

"Had he attended to those precautions, he would not have been thus ambuscaded; or had he wisely retreated from a concealed enemy, and scoured the thicket with his cannon, the melancholy catastrophe might have been avoided. But, obstinately rivetted to the spot on which he was first attacked, he vainly continued his attempt to form his men in regular order, although, by this means, a surer prey to the enemy, until, being himself wounded, he could no longer be necessary to the destruction of human life.

"A remarkable fact in the history of this affair remains to be told. General Braddock held the *provincial* troops in great contempt. Consequently, he kept the Virginians, and other provincials, who were in the action, in the rear. Yet, although equally exposed with the rest, far from being affected with the fears that disordered the regular troops, they stood firm and unbroken, and, under colonel Washington, covered the retreat of the regulars, and saved them from total destruction.

"The retreat of the army, after Braddock was wounded, was precipitate. No pause was made until the rear division was met. This division, on its junction with the other, was seized with the same spirit of flight with the retreating, and both divisions proceeded to fort Cumberland, a distance of nearly 120 miles from the place of action.

"Had the troops, even here, recovered their spirits, and returned, success might still have crowned the expedition. At least, the army might have rendered the most important service to the cause, by preventing the devastations and inhuman murders perpetrated by the French and Indians, during the summer, on the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania. But, instead of adopting a course so salutary and important, colonel Dunbar, leaving the sick and wounded at Cumberland, marched, with his troops, to Philadelphia."*

SEC. XV. The expedition against Crown Point, commanded by general William Johnson, though unsuccessful in its main object, served, in some measure, to dispel the gloom which followed the defeat of Braddock.

* Goodrich.

Johnson encamped, the latter part of August, at the south end of lake George, where he was informed, that a body of the enemy, 2000 in number, had landed at South bay, under the command of baron Dieskau, and were marching towards fort Edward, for the purpose of destroying the provisions and military stores at that place. A party of 1200 men, under colonel Williams, were detached to intercept them, but were unfortunately surprised by Dieskau, who was lying in ambush, and, after a signal slaughter, were compelled to retreat. Colonel Williams, and Hendrick, a renowned Mohawk chief, with many other officers, were killed.

Dieskau, with his troops, soon appeared before the encampment of Johnson, and commenced a spirited attack. They were received with great intrepidity, and the cannon and musketry did such execution among their ranks, that the enemy were forced to retire in confusion. Dieskau, after being severely wounded, fell into the hands of the English. The loss of the French was about 800 ; that of the English did not exceed 200.

The rendezvous for the projected expeditions against Crown Point and Niagara had been appointed to be at Albany. "Most of the troops had arrived at that place before the end of June ; but the artillery, batteaux, provisions, and other necessaries for the attempt on Crown Point, could not be prepared until the 8th of August, when general Johnson set out with them from Albany, for the carrying-place between the Hudson and lake George. General Lyman, with the troops, amounting to between 5000 and 6000, had already

arrived there, and begun a fort at the landing on the east side of Hudson's river, which was, at first, called *fort Lyman*, afterward *fort Edward*. Toward the end of the month, general Johnson, with the main body, moved forward more northerly, and pitched his camp at the south end of lake George, previously called *St. Sacrament*. Here he learned by some Indians, who had been sent out as scouts, that they had discovered a party of French and Indians at Ticonderoga, situated on the isthmus between the north end of lake George and the southern part of lake Champlain, 15 miles on this side of Crown Point; but that no works were thrown up. Johnson was impatient to get up his batteaux, intending then to proceed with part of the troops, and seize that important pass. During the delay, the French furnished him sufficient employment at his own camp.

“A body of French troops had lately arrived at Quebec under the command of baron Dieskau. The French court, apprized of the importance of Oswego, had given instructions to the baron to reduce it. Proceeding immediately to Montreal, he thence detached 700 of his troops up the river, intending speedily to join them with the remainder; but, just before he had made the necessary preparations, Montreal was alarmed with news that the English were forming a numerous army near lake St. Sacrament for the reduction of fort Frederick at Crown Point, and perhaps to penetrate into Canada. In a grand council, holden on this occasion, the baron was importuned to pass through lake Champlain for the defence of the threatened fortress. Dieskau, after waiting a while at fort Frederick for the approach of the English army, resolved to advance toward it, and, in case of victory, to desolate the northern interior settlements, lay Albany and Schenectady in ashes, and cut off all communication with Oswego. For the execution of this design, he embarked at fort Frederick with 2000 men in batteaux, and, landing at South bay, proceeded toward fort Edward. By an English prisoner he was informed, that the fort was defenceless, and that the English camp at the lake was, a few days before, without lines, and destitute of cannon. When arrived within two miles of fort Edward, he disclosed to the troops his design of attacking it;

but the Canadians and Indians, fearful of the English cannon, were averse to its execution. On their declaring, however, their willingness to surprise the English camp at lake St. Sacrament, the baron changed his route, and began to move against the main body at that lake.

"In the mean time, general Johnson, having learned from his scouts, that the French had departed from South bay toward fort Edward, despatched separate messengers to that fort, with advices of the enemy's approach. One of the messengers was intercepted and killed; the others returned with intelligence that they had descried the enemy about four miles northward of the fort. A council of war resolved, the next morning, to send out a large detachment of men to intercept the enemy in their return from fort Edward. This service was committed to colonel Ephraim Williams, a brave officer, who, at the head of 1000 men, with about 200 Indians, met the baron within four miles of the camp. That able commander had made an advantageous disposition of his men to receive the English. Keeping the main body of his regulars with him in the centre, he ordered the Canadians and Indians to advance on the right and left, in the woods, in such a manner as to enclose their enemy. When the American troops were considerably within the ambuscade, Hendrick, an old Mohawk sachem, who, too late, had been sent out with his Indians as a flank-guard, was hailed by a hostile Indian;* and instantly there commenced a smart fire, which soon became general. The provincials fought bravely; but, finding the enemy, who were of superior numbers, endeavoring to surround them, they were forced to retreat. The loss of the Americans was considerable. Colonel Williams was among the slain. Hendrick was also killed, with a number of his Indians, who fought

* "The Indian called to Hendrick, 'Whence came you?' 'From the Mohawks,' he replied. 'Whence came you?' rejoined Hendrick. 'From Montreal,' was the answer. The firing that now began brought on the action sooner than was intended by Dieskau, who had ordered his flanking parties to reserve their fire until a discharge from the centre. It was his intention to let the advancing troops get completely within the ambuscade before the firing commenced; in which case, the whole detachment would, probably, have been cut off. These, and some other particulars of the action, are from authentic *verbal* information."

with great intrepidity. The loss of the enemy was also considerable, and among the slain was M. St. Pierre, who commanded all the Indians. The retreating troops joined the main body, and waited the approach of their assailants, rendered more formidable by success.

“ About half after eleven, the enemy appeared in sight of Johnson’s army, which was encamped on the banks of lake George, and was covered on each side by a low, thick-wooded swamp. General Johnson had mounted several pieces of cannon, which he had most opportunely received two days before from fort Edward ; and trees had been felled to form a sort of breastwork, which was all his cover against an attack. The enemy marched along the road in very regular order, directly on the English centre, and, when within about 150 yards of the breastwork, made a small halt. The regular troops now made the grand and central attack, while the Canadians and Indians dispersed on the English flanks. The baron continuing, for some time, a distant platoon-fire with little execution, the English recovered their spirits, and determined on a resolute defence. As soon as their artillery began to play, the Canadians and Indians fled into the swamps. The French general was obliged to order a retreat ; and his troops, retiring in great disorder, were followed by a party from the camp, which fell on their rear, and precipitated their flight. The English not continuing their pursuit, the enemy halted about four miles from the camp, at the very place where the engagement happened in the morning, and opened their packs for refreshment. At this juncture, about 200 men of the New Hampshire forces, which had been detached from fort Edward to the assistance of the main body, fell upon the French, and completely routed them. Captain M’Ginnes, the brave commander of the provincials, fell in the action.”*

“ At the time it was meditated to send a detachment, under colonel Williams, to intercept Dieskau, the number of men proposed was mentioned to Hendrick, the Mohawk chief, and his opinion asked. He replied, “ If they are to fight, they are too few. If they are to be killed, they are too many.” The number was, accordingly, increased. General Johnson

* Holmes’s Annals.

proposed, also, to divide the detachment into three parties. Upon this, Hendrick took three sticks, and, putting them together, said to him, "Put these together, and you cannot break them; take them one by one, and you will break them easily." The hint succeeded, and Hendrick's sticks saved many of the party, and, probably, the whole army, from destruction.*

Early in the action, general Johnson was wounded, and general Lyman succeeded to the command, which he held through the day. To this gentleman's gallant exertions the success of the day, under Providence, was chiefly to be ascribed. Yet it is remarkable, that general Johnson made no mention of general Lyman in his official letter, announcing the intelligence of the victory. The ambition of Johnson was too great, and his avarice too greedy, to acknowledge the merits of a rival. General Johnson was created a baronet, and parliament voted him 5000 pounds sterling, in consideration of his success. The reward of general Lyman was the esteem and honor of the people among whom he lived.

Among the wounded of the French, as already stated, was the baron Dieskau. He had received a ball through his leg, and, being unable to follow his retreating army, was found by an English soldier, resting upon the stump of a tree, with scarcely an attendant. Dieskau, apprehensive for his safety, was feeling for his watch, in order to give it to the soldier, when the man, suspecting that he was feeling for a pistol, levelled his gun, and wounded him in the hips. He was carried to the camp, and treated with great kindness. From the camp he was taken to Albany and New York, whence, some time after, he sailed for England, where he died. He was a superior officer, possessed of honorable feelings, and adorned with highly polished manners. One stain, however, attaches to his character. Before his engagement with colonel Williams's corps, he gave orders to his troops neither to give nor take quarter.

"The repulse of Dieskau revived the spirits of the colonists, depressed by the recent defeat of general Braddock; but the

success was not improved in any proportion to their expectation. General Shirley, now the commander-in-chief, urged an attempt on Ticonderoga; but, a council of war judging it unadvisable, Johnson employed the remainder of the campaign in fortifying his camp. On a meeting of commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut with the governor and council of New York, in October, it was unanimously agreed, that the army under general Johnson should be discharged, excepting 600 men, who should be engaged to garrison fort Edward and fort William Henry. The French took possession of Ticonderoga, and fortified it.”*

SEC. XVI. Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, took the command of the expedition against Niagara. He advanced to Oswego, where, being poorly supplied with provisions, and the rainy season approaching, the expedition was abandoned, and the troops returned to Albany.

“General Shirley experienced such delays, that he did not reach Oswego till the 21st of August. On his arrival, he made all necessary preparations for the expedition to Niagara; but, through the desertion of batteaux-men, the scarcity of wagons on the Mohawk river, and the desertion of sledge-men at the great carrying-place, the conveyance of provisions and stores was so much retarded, that nearly four weeks elapsed before he could go upon action. A council of war, which he held at his camp on the 18th of September, advising to the attempt on Niagara, 600 regulars were drafted for that expedition; the artillery and ordnance stores were shipped on board the sloop Ontario; and part of the provisions were put on board another sloop, the residue being ready for the row-galleys, whale-boats and batteaux. A continuation of heavy rains, which set in on the 18th, rendered it impossible for the troops (400 of whom were to go in open boats) to pass the lake with any safety until the 26th of the month, when, on the abatement of the storm, orders were immediately issued for their embarkation. These orders could not be

* Holmes’s Annals.

executed. Though there was a short intermission of the rain, the western winds began to blow with increased fury, and were succeeded by continual rains for 13 days. Sickness now prevailed in the camp. The few Indians that had remained dispersed. The season was far advanced. In a council of war, called on the 27th, and composed of the same members who composed the last, it was unanimously resolved advisable to defer the expedition to the succeeding year; to leave colonel Mercer at Oswego, with a garrison of 700 men; to build two additional forts for the security of the place; and that the general should return with the rest of the army to Albany.”*

* Holmes's Annals.

CHAP. IX.

CONTINUATION OF THE FRENCH WAR.

FROM 1756 TO 1760.

Formal Declaration of War. Campaign of 1756, and Capture of Oswego. Campaign of 1757, and Capture of Fort William Henry. Expedition against Ticonderoga. Capture of Fort Frontenac. Campaign of 1759. Surrender of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Capture of Niagara. Wolfe's Expedition against Quebec. War terminated in 1760 by the entire Conquest of Canada.

SEC. I. 1756. Hostilities had thus far been prosecuted by the colonies, without any formal declaration of war on the part of the mother country. On the 18th of May, the present year, war was formally declared by Great Britain, and this declaration, soon after, reciprocated by a similar declaration on the part of France.

In the plan of operations for the present year, Niagara and Crown Point, two strong holds of great importance, then in the possession of the enemy, were constituted the principal points of attack.

“ The plan for the campaign of this year had been settled in a council of colonial governors at New York. It was agreed to raise 10,000 men for an expedition against Crown Point, 6000 for an expedition against Niagara, and 3000 for an expedition against fort du Quesne. In addition to this formidable force, and in aid of its operations, it was agreed

that 2000 men should advance up the river Kennebeck, destroy the settlements on the Chaudiere, and, descending to the mouth of that river, within three miles of Quebec, keep all that part of Canada in alarm. To facilitate the reduction of Crown Point, it was proposed to take advantage of the season when the lake should be frozen over to seize Ticonderoga.”*

Early in the present year, an act was passed by the legislature of the state, authorizing the commander of the militia of Albany county to send out detachments of men to act as rangers, in order to guard against a surprise by the enemy. In April, an act was passed for raising 1715 men to cooperate with the troops of the other colonies in the enterprise against Canada. To carry the levy into effect, and provide supplies for the men in service, bills of credit to the amount of 52,000 pounds were issued on the faith of the colony. In December, a law was passed for billeting and quartering the king’s forces upon the inhabitants. To meet the expenses of the war, duties were imposed on all imports, stamps introduced, and almost every method of taxation resorted to, which could extort money from the people, whose resources had been exhausted by the two preceding campaigns.

SEC. II. General Abercrombie was appointed to command, until the arrival of the earl of Loudon, who was to be commander-in-chief of all his majesty’s forces in America. Owing to the improvidence of Abercrombie, nothing was effected by the English. The campaign was unfortunately signalized by the capture of Oswego, which was surrendered to the French in August.

“The militia of the several provinces, assembled at Albany, remained there, for the want of a commander-in-chief, till the latter end of June, when general Abercrombie joined them in that capacity. The general brought over with him the

* Holmes’s Annals.

35th regiment, and the 42d, or lord George Murray's regiment of Highlanders. These two corps, Pepperell's, Shirley's, the 44th and 48th regiments, with four independent companies from New York, four from Carolina, and a considerable body of provincials, now composed the British troops in North America.

"The command of the expedition against Crown Point was given to major-general Winslow, who, on reviewing the provincial troops destined for that service, found them not much to exceed 7000 men—a number which, after deducting from it the necessary garrisons, was declared inadequate to the enterprise. The arrival of British troops with general Abercrombie, while it relieved this difficulty, created a new one, which occasioned a temporary suspension of the projected expedition. The regulation of the crown respecting military rank had excited great disgust in America; and Winslow, when consulted on this delicate subject by Abercrombie, expressed his apprehensions, that, if the result of a junction of British and provincial troops should be the placing of the provincials under British officers, it would produce very general discontent, and, perhaps, desertion. To avoid so serious an evil, it was finally agreed, that British troops should succeed the provincials in the posts then occupied by them, so as to enable the whole colonial force to proceed under Winslow against Crown Point. General Abercrombie, who had superseded general Shirley as commander-in-chief, now yielded the command to the earl of Loudon. On the arrival of that nobleman, the same subject was revived. While the colonial officers readily consented to act in conjunction with the European troops, and cheerfully submitted, in all dutiful obedience, to the British commander-in-chief, they entreated it as a favor of his lordship, as the New England troops had been raised on particular terms, and had proceeded thus far according to their original organization, that he would permit them to act separately, so far as it might be consistent with his majesty's service. Scarcely was this point of honor satisfactorily adjusted, when the attention of both British and provincial soldiers was arrested by a more serious subject."

The marquis de Montcalm, commander of the French troops in Canada, collected a force of 1300 regulars, 1700 Canadians, with a considerable number of Indians, and proceeded from fort Frontenac by the way of lake Ontario. On his arrival at Oswego, he stationed two large armed vessels to block up the place by water, and posted a strong body of Canadians and Indians to cut off all communication with Albany. Having brought up his artillery and stores, on the 12th of August, he opened his trenches before fort Ontario. The garrison having fired away all their shells and ammunition, colonel Mercer, the commanding officer, ordered the cannon to be spiked up, and crossed the river to Little Oswego fort, without the loss of a single man. The enemy, taking immediate possession of the deserted fort, began a fire from it, which was kept up without intermission. About four miles and a half up the river was fort George, the defence of which was committed to colonel Schuyler. On the abandonment of the first fort by colonel Mercer, about 370 of his men had joined colonel Schuyler, with the intention of having an intercourse between his fort and that to which their own commander retreated; but a body of 2500 Canadians and Indians boldly swam across the river in the night between the 13th and 14th, and cut off that communication. The fortifications were in no condition to make a defence against artillery, or regular approaches; and, on the 14th, colonel Mercer having been killed by a cannon ball the day previous, the garrison proposed a capitulation.

By the terms of capitulation, they were to surrender prisoners of war, to be exempted from plunder, treated with humanity, and conducted to Montreal. These terms were, however, most shamefully violated by the French. Several of the British officers and soldiers were insulted, robbed and massacred by the Indians; most of the sick were barbarously scalped in the hospital; and, to finish the scene of falsehood and cruelty, the French general delivered up to the Indians above 20 of the garrison, in lieu of the same number they had lost during the siege, who were probably put to death according to the Indian custom of torturing and burning.

Montcalm, having accomplished his object with very incon-

siderable loss, demolished the two forts at Oswego, and returned with his army to fort Frontenac. By this enterprise, the enemy obtained the entire command of lakes Ontario and Erie, and of the whole country of the Five Nations. About 1500 men were made prisoners, and 120 pieces of cannon were taken, with 14 mortars, 2 sloops of war, and 200 boats and batteaux.

"On this disastrous event, every plan of offensive operation was immediately relinquished. General Winslow had orders from lord Loudon not to proceed on his intended expedition against Ticonderoga, but to fortify his camp, and to prevent the enemy from attacking him or advancing into the country by South bay or Wood creek. General Webb, with about 1400 men, was posted at the great carrying-place; and sir William Johnson, with about 1000 militia, was stationed at the German Flats. The proposed expedition up the Keinebeck, to destroy the settlement on the Chaudiere, terminated in a mere scouting party, which explored the country. The attempt proposed against fort du Quesne was not prosecuted."*

SEC. III. The campaign of 1757 was equally unsuccessful on the part of the English. Montcalm made a descent on fort William Henry, situated on the southern shore of lake George. The garrison of the fort consisted of 3000 men. It was besieged by Montcalm, with a force of 9000, and, after a gallant defence of six days, was compelled to surrender, giving to the French the command of the lake, and the western frontier.

"The spirited and protracted defence of the fort, against such numbers, reflects the highest honor upon its brave commander, colonel Munroe. Six days was the enemy kept at bay, with unabated resolution, in full expectation of assistance

* Holmes's Annals.

from general Webb, who lay at fort Edward, only 15 miles distant, with an army of 4000 men.

"The character of general Webb continues sullied by his unpardonable indifference to the perilous situation of his brethren in arms at fort William Henry. It deserves to be known, that sir William Johnson, after very importunate solicitations, obtained leave of general Webb to march, with as many as would volunteer in the service, to the relief of Munroe.

"At the beat of the drums, the provincials, almost to a man, sallied forth, and were soon ready and eager for the march. After being under arms almost all day, what were their feelings when sir William, returning from head-quarters, informed them that general Webb had forbidden them to march!

"The soldiers were inexpressibly mortified and enraged; and their commander did himself no common honor in the tears he shed, as he turned from his troops, and retired to his tent.

"The defence of fort William Henry was so gallant, that colonel Munroe, with his troops, was admitted to an honorable capitulation. The capitulation, however, was most shamefully broken. While the troops were marching out at the gate of the fort, the Indians attached to Montcalm's party dragged the men from their ranks, and, with all the inhumanity of savage feeling, plundered them of their baggage, and butchered them in cold blood. Out of a New Hampshire corps of 200, 80 were missing."*

The following account of this dreadful scene is related by captain Carver, of the Connecticut troops, and one of the garrison at that time:—"The morning after the capitulation was signed, as soon as day broke, the whole garrison, now consisting of about 2000 men, besides women and children, were drawn up within the lines, and on the point of marching off, when great numbers of the Indians gathered about, and began to plunder. We were, at first, in hopes that this was their only view, and suffered them to proceed without opposi-

* Goodrich.

tion. Indeed, it was not in our power to make any, had we been so inclined; for though we were permitted to carry off our arms, yet we were not allowed a single round of ammunition. In these hopes, however, we were disappointed; for presently some of them began to attack the sick and wounded, when such as were not able to crawl into the ranks, notwithstanding they endeavored to avert the fury of their enemies by their shrieks or groans, were soon despatched.

"Here we were fully in expectation that the disturbance would have concluded; and our little army began to move; but, in a short time, we saw the front division driven back; and discovered that we were entirely encircled by the savages. We expected every moment that the guard, which the French, by the articles of capitulation, had agreed to allow us, would have arrived, and put an end to our apprehensions; but none appeared. The Indians now began to strip every one, without exception, of their arms and clothes; and those who made the least resistance felt the weight of their tomahawks.

"I happened to be in the rear division; but it was not long before I shared the fate of my companions. Three or four of the savages laid hold of me, and, whilst some held their weapons over my head, the others soon disrobed me of my coat, waistcoat, hat and buckles, omitting not to take from me what money I had in my pocket. As this was transacted close by the passage that led from the lines on to the plain, near which a French sentinel was posted, I ran to him, and claimed his protection; but he only called me an English dog, and thrust me with violence back again into the midst of the Indians.

"I now endeavored to join a body of our troops, that were crowded together at some distance; but innumerable were the blows that were made at me with weapons as I passed on; luckily, however, the savages were so close together, that they could not strike at me without endangering each other. Notwithstanding which, one of them found means to make a thrust at me with a spear, which grazed my side; and from another I received a wound, with the same kind of weapon, in my ankle. At length I gained the spot where my countrymen stood, and forced myself into the midst of them,

But before I got thus far out of the hands of the Indians, the collar and wrist-bands of my shirt were all that remained of it, and my flesh was scratched and torn in many places by their savage gripes.

“ By this time the war-whoop was given, and the Indians began to murder those that were nearest to them without distinction. It is not in the power of words to give any tolerable idea of the horrid scene that now ensued : men, women and children were despatched in the most wanton and cruel manner, and immediately scalped. Many of these savages drank the blood of their victims, as it flowed warm from the fatal wound.

“ We now perceived, though too late to avail us, that we were to expect no relief from the French ; and that, contrary to the agreement they had so lately signed, to allow us a sufficient force to protect us from these insults, they tacitly permitted them ; for I could plainly perceive the French officers walking about at some distance, discoursing with apparent unconcern.

“ As the circle in which I stood enclosed by this time was much thinned, and death seemed to be approaching with hasty strides, it was proposed, by some of the most resolute, to make one vigorous effort, and endeavor to force our way through the savages—the only probable method of preserving our lives that now remained. This, however desperate, was resolved on, and about 20 of us sprung at once into the midst of them

“ In a moment we were all separated ; and what was the fate of my companions I could not learn till some months after, when I found that only six or seven of them effected their design. Intent only on my own hazardous situation, I endeavored to make my way through my savage enemies in the best manner possible ; and I have often been astonished since, when I have recollected with what composure I took, as I did, every necessary step for my preservation. Some I overturned, being, at that time, young and athletic, and others I passed by, dexterously avoiding their weapons ; till, at last, two very stout chiefs, of the most savage tribes, as I could distinguish by their dress, whose strength I could not resist,

laid hold of me by each arm, and began to force me through the crowd.

“ I now resigned myself to my fate, not doubting but that they intended to despatch me, and then satiate their vengeance with my blood, as I found they were hurrying me towards a retired swamp, that lay at some distance. But before we had got many yards, an English gentleman of some distinction, as I could discover by his breeches, the only covering he had on, which were of fine scarlet velvet, rushed close by us. One of the Indians instantly relinquished his hold, and, springing on this new object, endeavored to seize him as his prey; but the gentleman, being strong, threw him on the ground, and would probably have got away, had not he, who held my other arm, quitted me to assist his brother. I seized the opportunity, and hastened away to join another party of English troops, that were yet unbroken, and stood in a body at some distance. But before I had taken many steps, I hastily cast my eye towards the gentleman, and saw the Indian’s tomahawk gash into his back, and heard him utter his last groan. This added both to my speed and desperation.

“ I had left this shocking scene but a few yards, when a fine boy, about 12 years of age, that had hitherto escaped, came up to me, and begged that I would let him lay hold of me, so that he might stand some chance of getting out of the hands of the savages. I told him that I would give him every assistance in my power, and, to this purpose, bid him lay hold; but, in a few moments, he was torn from my side, and, by his shrieks, I judge, was soon demolished. I could not help forgetting my own cares for a minute, to lament the fate of so young a sufferer; but it was utterly impossible for me to take any methods to prevent it.

“ I now got once more into the midst of friends; but we were unable to afford each other any succor. As this was the division that had advanced the farthest from the fort, I thought there might be a possibility (though but a bare one) of my forcing my way through the outer ranks of the Indians, and getting to a neighboring wood, which I perceived at some distance. I was still encouraged to hope by the almost miraculous preservation I had already experienced. Nor were my

hopes in vain, or the efforts I made ineffectual. Suffice it to say, that I reached the wood; but, by the time I had penetrated a little way into it, my breath was so exhausted, that I threw myself into a brake, and lay for some minutes apparently at the last gasp. At length I recovered the power of respiration; but my apprehensions returned with all their former force when I saw several savages pass by, probably in pursuit of me, at no very great distance. In this situation, I knew not whether it was better to proceed, or endeavor to conceal myself where I lay till night came on. Fearing, however, that they would return the same way, I thought it most prudent to get farther from the dreadful scene of my distresses. Accordingly, striking into another part of the wood, I hastened on as fast as the briars and the loss of one of my shoes would permit me; and, after a slow progress of some hours, gained a hill that overlooked the plain which I had just left, from whence I could discern that the bloody storm still raged with unabated fury.

“But, not to tire my readers, I shall only add, that, after passing three days without subsistence, and enduring the severity of the cold dews for three nights, I at length reached fort Edward, where, with proper care, my body soon recovered its wonted strength, and my mind, as far as my recollection of the late melancholy events would permit, its usual composure.

“It was computed that 1500 persons were killed or made prisoners by these savages during this fatal day. Many of the latter were carried off by them, and never returned. A few, through favorable accidents, found their way back to their native country, after having experienced a long and severe captivity.

“The brave colonel Munroe had hastened away, soon after the confusion began, to the French camp, to endeavor to procure the guard agreed on by the stipulation; but, his application proving ineffectual, he remained there till general Webb sent a party of troops to demand and protect him back to fort Edward.”*

Major Putnam was despatched, the day after this awful tra-

* Carver's Travels.

gedy, with his rangers, to watch the motions of the enemy, and gives the following account. He arrived at the shore of lake George while the enemy were in the act of retiring. The prospect was horrid beyond description. The fort was demolished; the barracks, out-houses and buildings were one heap of ruins; the cannon, stores, boats and vessels were carried away; the fires were still burning, the smoke and stench offensive and suffocating; the place was covered with fragments of human skulls and bones; and carcasses half consumed were still frying and broiling in the decaying fires. Dead bodies, mangled with scalping-knives and tomahawks, in all the wantonness of Indian fierceness and barbarity, were everywhere to be seen.

More than 100 women, inhumanly stabbed and butchered, lay naked on the ground, with their bowels torn out, and still weltering in their gore. In some, their throats were cut; in others, their brains were oozing out, where the hatchet had cleaved their heads; and in others the hair and scalp had been torn off, and nothing was to be seen but the bloody skull. Devastation, barbarity and horror everywhere appeared, and presented a spectacle too diabolical and awful to be endured or delineated.*

SEC. IV. 1758. The celebrated Pitt, lord Chatham, was now placed at the head of the British ministry, and gave a new tone to their measures, and a fresh impulse to the spirit of the colonies, which had been depressed by a series of ill-conducted and unfortunate expeditions. The tide of success was now turned in favor of the English, and continued, with few exceptions, until the whole of Canada was subjected to their arms.

In a circular addressed to the provincial governors, Mr. Pitt assured them that a large force would be sent to America to act in concert with the colonies by sea and land against

* Putnam's Life.

the French, and called on them to raise as large bodies of men as the number of inhabitants would allow. The northern colonies were prompt and liberal in furnishing the requisite supplies. The province of New York contributed 2680* men, and appropriated 100,000 pounds towards defraying the expenses of the provincial troops. Such was the active spirit of the colonies, that the provincial troops, amounting to about 25,000, were ready to take the field early in May. The entire forces of the English now amounted to 50,000† men, the most powerful army ever seen in America.

SEC. V. The plan of the campaign for the present year comprehended three expeditions; viz. against Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and fort du Quesne. The first was completely successful. Louisburg, after an obstinate resistance, was surrendered to general Amherst on the 26th of July, and with it, 5737 prisoners of war, with military stores.

The command of the expedition against Louisburg was assigned to major-general Amherst, assisted by brigadier-generals Wolfe, Whittemore and Lawrence. The naval force under admiral Boscawen arrived at Halifax in May, the whole armament consisting of 157 sail. The fleet appeared in the vicinity of Louisburg on the 2d of June, and, on the 8th, the troops under the direction of general Wolfe effected a landing, and immediately invested the city.

The garrison of Louisburg consisted of 2500 regular troops, 300 militia, and a considerable number of Canadians and Indians, under the command of chevalier Drucour. The harbor was defended by six ships of the line, and five frigates.

* The several counties in the province furnished the following quotas:—

Albany city and county, 514; New York do. 312; West Chester Co., 394; Dutchess, 389; Queen's, 290; Suffolk, 290; Ulster, 228; Orange, 147; King's, 63; Richmond, 55.

† In this computation are included troops of every description. 22,000 of them were regular troops. *Univ. Hist.*

Amherst advanced upon the place with great caution, and Wolfe conducted with all that gallantry and discretion, which have since immortalized his name. Under these commanders, the siege was prosecuted with so much vigilance and energy, that the French ships were soon destroyed, and the garrison compelled to surrender.

SEC. VI. Lord Loudon having returned to England, general Abercrombie, now commander-in-chief in America, with an army of 16,000 men, passed lake George, and appeared before Ticonderoga. Without waiting for the arrival of his artillery, he commenced an immediate attack, which was obstinately maintained for more than four hours ; when he was compelled to retire, with the loss of near 2000 killed and wounded.

The forces under Abercrombie amounted to near 7000 regulars, and 10,000 provincial troops. These, with a fine train of artillery and military stores, were embarked on lake George, in 900 batteaux and 131 boats. Their passage across the lake is thus elegantly described by doctor Dwight :—

“The morning was remarkably bright and beautiful ; and the fleet moved with exact regularity to the sound of fine martial music. The ensigns waved and glittered in the sunbeams, and the anticipation of future triumph shone in every eye. Above, beneath, around, the scenery was that of enchantment. Rarely has the sun, since that luminary was first lighted up in the heavens, dawned on such a complication of beauty and magnificence.”

The splendor of this parade forms, however, a melancholy contrast with the defeat which was about to ensue. After debarkation at the landing-place in a cove on the west side of the lake, the troops were formed into four columns, the British in the centre, and the provincials on the flanks. In this order, they marched toward the advanced guard of the French, which, consisting of one battalion only, posted in a

log camp, destroyed what was in their power, and made a precipitate retreat. While Abercrombie was continuing his march in the woods toward Ticonderoga, the columns were thrown into confusion, and in some degree entangled with each other. At this juncture, lord Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with a part of the advanced guard of the enemy, which was lost in the wood in retreating from lake George, and immediately attacked and dispersed it, killing a considerable number, and taking 148 prisoners. In this skirmish, lord Howe, a nobleman of the most promising military talents, fell on the first fire.

The English army, without further opposition, took possession of a fort within two miles of Ticonderoga. Abercrombie, having learned from the prisoners the strength of the enemy at that fortress, and, from an engineer, the condition of their works, resolved on an immediate storm, and made instant disposition for an assault. The troops, having received orders to march up briskly, rush upon the enemy's fire, and to reserve their own till they had passed a breastwork, marched to the assault with great intrepidity. Unlooked-for impediments, however, occurred; and, just as they were approaching the enemy's works, they became entangled in an abatis. Desperate attempts were made to force a passage, during which, they were constantly exposed to a most fatal and destructive fire from the enemy, who, being covered by their entrenchments, suffered comparatively little. Every effort proving unsuccessful, Abercrombie withdrew his forces, and precipitately retired to his former encampment on lake George.*

SEC. VII. Abercrombie, soon after his unfortunate expedition against Ticonderoga, sent colonel Bradstreet, with a detachment of 3000 men, against fort Frontenac, on the north-west side of the outlet of lake Ontario. Bradstreet sailed down the Ontario, landed within a mile of the fort, opened his batteries, and in two days

* Holmes's Annals.

compelled this important fortress to surrender. Nine armed vessels, large quantities of cannon and military stores, fell into the hands of the English. Fort du Quesne was peaceably surrendered to general Forbes in November.

SEC. VIII. The object of the campaign of 1759 was no less than the entire conquest of Canada. The contemplated points of attack were Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara and Quebec.

The plan of the campaign of the present year was projected by Mr. Pitt, and was marked by the energy and boldness of that minister's genius. General Wolfe was to ascend the St. Lawrence with a body of 8000 men, as soon as the river should be clear of ice, and lay siege to Quebec, the capital of Canada. General Amherst, commander-in-chief, with an army of regular troops and provincials amounting to 12,000, was to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and thence proceed through lake Champlain and the river Sorelle, to the assistance of Wolfe. Brigadier-general Prideaux, with a body of troops reinforced by the Indians under the influence and command of sir William Johnson, was to invest the French fort at Niagara, and attempt the reduction of that important fortress. It was expected that these forces, making simultaneous movements in different directions, would mutually assist each other, by dividing the forces, and distracting the councils of the enemy.

In March, the legislature ordered a levy of 2680 men, being the quota assigned to the colony of New York, and imposed a tax of £100,000 for their payment and support. By subsequent acts, the same number of men were raised and supported by the colony for several successive years. In July, in addition to other emissions, bills of credit to the amount of £150,000 were issued for the payment of debts contracted in the prosecution of the war. In the course of a few months, the contributions imposed on the province for defraying the expenses of the military operations amounted to above \$600,000.

SEC. IX. General Amherst, who had succeeded Abercrombie as commander-in-chief, appeared before Ticonderoga on the 22d of July, and soon after took possession of the fortress. After repairing the works, he proceeded to Crown Point, which was surrendered without opposition.

Early in the spring, general Amherst transferred his headquarters from New York to Albany, where his troops were assembled by the last of May. The summer was, however, far advanced before he could cross lake George, and it was not until the 22d of July that he reached Ticonderoga. The lines around that place were immediately abandoned by the enemy, and the English took possession of them the next day without firing a gun. They were composed of large trees, and banked with the earth of the clay kind to such thickness, that the enemy's cannon afterward made no impression on them. After making proper dispositions for the reduction of the French fortress, on the 26th, all the artillery men were ordered into the trenches, and two batteries were about to be opened; but the enemy, after blowing up their magazines, and doing what damage the time would allow, evacuated the fort, and retreated to Crown Point. Amherst, after repairing the fortifications of Ticonderoga, advanced to Crown Point; but, before his arrival, the garrison repaired to Isle aux Noix, at the northern extremity of lake Champlain. At this place, the French, he was informed, had 3500 men, with a numerous train of artillery, and the additional defence of four large armed vessels on the lake. The English general made great exertions to obtain a naval superiority. With a sloop and a radeau, which he had built with the greatest despatch, he destroyed two vessels of the enemy; but a succession of storms, and the advanced season of the year, obliged him to postpone further operations. Returning to Crown Point, he there put his troops into winter-quarters, about the last of October.*

* Holmes's Annals.

SEC. X. The second division of the army, under general Prideaux, appeared before Niagara on the 6th of July. The place was immediately invested ; and, on the 24th, a general battle took place, which decided the fate of that post, and transferred it into the hands of the English.

" In prosecution of the enterprise against Niagara, general Prideaux had embarked with an army on lake Ontario ; and, on the 6th of July, landed without opposition within about three miles of the fort, which he invested in form. While directing the operations of the siege, he was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, and the command devolved on sir William Johnson. That general, prosecuting with judgment and vigor the plan of his predecessor, pushed the attack of Niagara with such intrepidity, as soon brought the besiegers within a hundred yards of the covered way. Meanwhile, the French, alarmed at the danger of losing such a post, which was a key to their interior empire in America, had collected a large body of regular troops from the neighboring garrisons of Detroit, Venango and Presque Isle, with which, and a party of Indians, they resolved, if possible, to raise the siege. Apprized of their intention to hazard a battle, general Johnson ordered his light-infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress ; placed the auxiliary Indians on his flanks ; and, together with this preparation for an engagement, took effectual measures for securing his lines, and bridling the garrison. About 9, in the morning of the 24th of July, the enemy appeared, and the horrible sound of the war-whoop from the hostile Indians was the signal of battle. The French charged with great impetuosity, but were received with firmness, and, in less than an hour, were completely routed. This battle decided the fate of Niagara. Sir William Johnson, the next morning, sent a trumpet to the French commandant ; and, in a few hours, a capitulation was signed. The garrison, consisting of 607 men, were to march out with the honors of war, to be embarked on the lake, and carried to New York ; and

the women and children were to be carried to Montreal. The reduction of Niagara effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.”*

SEC. XI. While the British were pursuing their victorious career in Upper Canada, general Wolfe, with an army of 8000 men, appeared before Quebec. On the 13th of September, a severe battle was fought between the English, under Wolfe, and the French, under Montcalm, in which both these brave commanders fell. Victory decided in favor of the English, and the city, five days after, capitulated.

General Wolfe embarked at Louisburg, under convoy of admirals Saunders and Holmes, and landed with his troops in June, without opposition, on the island of Orleans, a little below Quebec. The city was strongly fortified by nature and art, formidable on account of the number and bravery of its inhabitants, and in a situation in which it could not be much injured by a fleet, or approached but by a powerful force by land. It was defended by an army of 10,000 men, consisting of regular troops and well-disciplined militia, besides a large number of armed Indians. At the head of these forces was the marquis de Montcalm, a general of much courage, activity and experience, and already distinguished for his enterprises and success against the English.

“Determined from the first to take the place, impregnable as it was accounted, the measures of general Wolfe were singularly bold, and apparently repugnant to all the maxims of war. His attention was first drawn to point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, upon which, after taking possession of it, he erected batteries. By means of these, he destroyed many houses, but from this point it was soon apparent that little impression could be made upon the fortifications of the town.

“Finding it impracticable thus to accomplish his purpose,

* Holmes’s Annals.

Wolfe next decided on more daring measures. For the purpose of drawing Montcalm to a general battle, Wolfe, with his troops, crossed the river Montmorenci, and attacked the enemy in their intrenchments. Owing, however, to the grounding of some of the boats which conveyed the troops, a part of the detachment did not land so soon as the others. The corps that first landed, without waiting to form, rushed forward impetuously towards the enemy's intrenchments. But their courage proved their ruin. A close and well-directed fire from the enemy cut them down in great numbers.

“Montcalm's party had now landed, and were drawn up on the beach in order. But it was near night; a thunder-storm was approaching, and the tide was rapidly setting in. Fearing the consequences of delay, Wolfe ordered a retreat across the Montmorenci, and returned to his quarters on the isle of Orleans. In this rencounter, his loss amounted to near 600 of the flower of his army.

“Disappointed thus far, and worn down with fatigue and watching, general Wolfe fell violently sick. Scarcely had he recovered, before he proceeded to put in execution a plan which had been matured on his sick bed. This was to proceed up the river, gain the Heights of Abraham, and draw Montcalm to a general engagement.

“Accordingly, the troops were transported up the river about nine miles. On the 12th of September, one hour after midnight, Wolfe and his troops left the ships, and in boats silently dropped down the current, intending to land a league above cape Diamond, and there ascend the bank leading to the station he wished to gain. Owing, however, to the rapidity of the river, they fell below the intended place, and landed a mile, or a mile and a half, above the city. The operation was a critical one, as they had to navigate in silence down a rapid stream, and to find a right place for landing, which, amidst surrounding darkness, might be easily mistaken. Besides this, the shore was shelving, and the bank so steep and lofty as scarcely to be ascended, even without opposition from an enemy. Indeed, the attempt was in the greatest danger of being defeated by an occurrence peculiarly interesting, as marking the very great delicacy of the transaction.

“One of the French sentinels, posted along the shore, as the English boats were descending, challenged them in the customary military language of the French, ‘*Qui vit?*’ ‘Who goes there?’ to which a captain in Frazer’s regiment, who had served in Holland, and was familiar with the French language and customs, promptly replied, ‘*La France.*’ The next question was still more embarrassing, for the sentinel demanded, ‘*A quel regiment?*’ ‘To what regiment?’ The captain, who happened to know the name of a regiment which was up the river with Bougainville, promptly rejoined, ‘*De la reine,*’ ‘The queen’s.’ The soldier immediately replied, ‘*Passe,*’ for he concluded at once that this was a French convoy of provisions, which, as the English had learned from some deserters, was expected to pass down the river to Quebec. The other sentinels were deceived in a similar manner; but one, less credulous than the rest, running down to the water’s edge, called out, ‘*Pour quois est ce que vous ne parlez plus haut?*’ ‘Why don’t you speak louder?’ The same captain, with perfect self-command, replied, ‘*Tais toi, nous serons entendus!*’ ‘Hush, we shall be overheard and discovered!’ The sentry, satisfied with this caution, retired, and the boats passed in safety.* About an hour before day, the army began to ascend the precipice, the distance of 150 or 200 feet, almost perpendicular ascent, above which spread the plains of Abraham. By day-light, September 13th, this almost incredible enterprise had been effected; the desired station was attained; the army was formed, and ready to meet the enemy.

“To Montcalm, the intelligence that the English were occupying the Heights of Abraham was most surprising. The impossibility of ascending the precipice he considered certain, and, therefore, had taken no measures to fortify its line. But no sooner was he informed of the position of the English army, than, perceiving a battle no longer to be avoided, he prepared to fight. Between nine and ten o’clock, the two armies, about equal in numbers, met face to face.

“The battle now commenced. Inattentive to the fire of a body of Canadians and Indians, 1500 of whom Montcalm had stationed in the cornfields and bushes, Wolfe directed his

* Silliman’s Tour, from Smollet.

troops to reserve their fire for the main body of the French, now rapidly advancing. On their approach within 40 yards, the English opened their fire, and the destruction became immense.

“The French fought bravely, but their ranks became disordered, and, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of their officers to form them, and to renew the attack, they were so successfully pushed by the British bayonet, and hewn down by the Highland broadsword, that their discomfiture was complete.

“During the action, Montcalm was on the French left, and Wolfe on the English right, and here they both fell in the critical moment that decided the victory. Early in the battle, Wolfe received a ball in his wrist; but, binding his handkerchief around it, he continued to encourage his men. Shortly after, another ball penetrated his groin; but this wound, although much more severe, he concealed, and continued to urge on the contest, till a third bullet pierced his breast. He was now obliged, though reluctantly, to be carried to the rear of the line.

“General Monckton succeeded to the command, but was immediately wounded, and conveyed away. In this critical state of the action, the command devolved on general Townshend. General Montcalm, fighting in front of his battalion, received a mortal wound about the same time, and general Jennezergus, his second in command, fell near his side.

“Wolfe died in the field before the battle was ended; but he lived long enough to know that the victory was his. While leaning on the shoulder of a lieutenant, who kneeled to support him, he was seized with the agonies of death. At this moment was heard the distant sound, ‘They fly—they fly!’ The hero raised his drooping head, and eagerly asked, ‘Who fly?’ Being told that it was the French, ‘Then,’ he replied, ‘I die happy,’ and expired.”*

In the ensuing spring, 1760, the French made exertions to recover Quebec from the English.

Their designs were, however, frustrated by the arrival of an English squadron with reinforcements, by which the French fleet was taken and destroyed.

SEC. XII. On the 6th of September, generals Amherst and Murray, with a large body of troops, appeared before Montreal, the last fortress of importance now in possession of the French. On the 8th, Montreal, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and all other places within the government of Canada, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty.

Three years after, a definitive treaty was ratified by the kings of England and France, by which all Nova Scotia, Canada, the isle of Cape Breton, and all other islands in the gulf and river St. Lawrence were ceded to the British crown.

CHAP. X.

FROM 1760 TO 1775.

Prospects of the Colony. Controversy relative to the New Hampshire Grants. Opposition from the Settlers. Stamp Act. Congress at New York. Disturbances occasioned by the Stamp Act. Associations to oppose it. Stamp Act repealed. Assembly restrained. Further Attempts to tax the Colonies. Controversy with the Grants becomes serious. Parties prevented from proceeding to Hostilities by the Controversy with Great Britain.

SEC. I. The conquest of Canada had, for more than 70 years, been an object of solicitude with the colonies generally, but more especially with New York, which, from its local situation, was more imminently exposed to the depredations and ravages of the Indian tribes. The accomplishment of this object put a period to those hostile incursions, and gave to the future prospects of the colony the aspect of tranquillity; prosperity, rapid increase, and improvement, while the return of peace afforded an opportunity for repairing the embarrassed state of her finances, and augmenting her resources, which had been impoverished by a series of protracted and expensive wars.

The population of the province, at the termination of the war, probably did not exceed 100,000. In 1756, it amounted to

96,765. The counties at that time were Suffolk, Queen's, King's, Richmond, New York, West-Chester, Dutchess, Orange, Ulster and Albany. The settlements were chiefly limited to New York, Staten and Long islands, the banks of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, and their vicinity. The most northern settlements were Hoosac, Schaghticope and Saratoga. On the Mohawk, there were no establishments of any importance west of Schoharie creek.

SEC. II. Lieutenant-governor Delancey died suddenly, on the 30th of July, and Cadwallader Colden assumed the government, as president of the council. He received the appointment of lieutenant-governor in August, 1761. Robert Monckton was commissioned governor, and commenced his administration in October.

Soon after his appointment, governor Monckton embarked to take the command of an expedition against Martinique. The enterprise was successful, and, on the 14th of February, the French governor, M. de la Touche, delivered up the whole island to the English on capitulation. With Martinique fell Granada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and every other place possessed by the French in the extensive chain of the Caribbee islands. Governor Monckton returned to New York in June, 1762, but remained only a short time in the province. During his absence, the government was administered by Mr. Colden, the lieutenant-governor. Towards the close of the following year, apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Schoharie and Cherry Valley, in consequence of the hostile attitude of some of the more remote Indian tribes. An act was passed by the legislature, in December, for the raising of 800 men, to be stationed at those places for the protection of the settlements.

SEC. III. In 1763 commenced the celebrated controversy with New Hampshire, relative to boundaries. The controverted territory comprised the country situated between Connecticut

river and lake Champlain, and since known as Vermont.

No settlements of any importance had been made in this territory previous to 1760; and the subject of territorial limits had, consequently, never been examined or called in question. The original charters of the colonies, owing to the imperfect surveys of the country, were extremely vague, indefinite, and often contradictory. A grant was made, in 1664 and 1674, by Charles the Second, to his brother, the duke of York, containing, among other parts of America, "all the lands from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay." No other grant of the contested territory had ever been made by any preceding or subsequent charter, and it was, consequently, inferred, by the government of New York, that it fell within their jurisdiction.

This territory was, however, by many, supposed to fall within the limits of New Hampshire, and that government, in 1760, and several succeeding years, made large grants of land, to settlers, west of Connecticut river. The settlements progressed with astonishing rapidity; and, in 1763, 138 townships had been granted by New Hampshire, extending as far west as the shore of lake Champlain, and to what was esteemed 20 miles east of Hudson's river.

SEC. IV. To check the proceedings of New Hampshire, lieutenant-governor Colden issued a proclamation, reciting the grants of the duke of York, asserting their validity, claiming the jurisdiction as far east as Connecticut river, and commanding the sheriff of Albany county to make return of all persons, who, under the New Hampshire grants, had taken possession of lands west of the river.

A proclamation was soon after issued by the governor of New Hampshire, declaring the grant of the duke of York to be obsolete; that New Hampshire extended as far west as Massachusetts and Connecticut; and that the grants made by New Hamp-

shire would be confirmed if the jurisdiction should be altered. He exhorted the settlers not to be intimidated, but to proceed in the cultivation of their lands; and required the civil officers to exercise jurisdiction as far west as grants had been made, and to punish all disturbers of the peace.*

SEC. V. Application was made to the crown, and a decision obtained in 1764, by which the western bank of Connecticut river was declared to be the boundary line between the provinces of New Hampshire and New York. The government of New York proceeded to organize the new territory, and to exercise jurisdiction.

The new district was divided into four counties. The south-western part was annexed to the county of Albany, and the north-western part formed into a county by the name of *Charlotte*. East of the Green mountains, two counties were formed—Gloucester on the north, and Cumberland on the south. In each of these counties courts were regularly held. The grants of land under New Hampshire were declared illegal, and the settlers required to take out new charters from New York, attended with extravagant fees.

Some of the towns complied with the requisition, and purchased their lands the second time; but the greater part refused. Where it was not complied with on the part of the grantees, new grants were made of their lands to such petitioners as would advance the fees which were demanded. Actions of ejectment were commenced in the courts at Albany against several of the ancient settlers. The decisions of the courts were in favor of the New York titles; but, when the executive officers came to eject the inhabitants, they generally met with an avowed opposition from the possessors, and were not allowed to proceed in the execution of their offices.

When it was found that there was a combination for the avowed purpose of resisting the execution of the judgments of the courts, the militia were called out to support the sheriff; but they were rather in sentiment with the settlers, and dis-

* Williams.

banded themselves on the appearance of an armed opposition. The actions of ejectment still went on in the courts of Albany. No attention was, however, paid to them, nor any defence made by the settlers. But, when attempts were made to carry these decisions into effect, a mob was assembled to oppose their execution. As the efforts of the government were continued, the opposition of the settlers became more bold and daring, and was frequently characterized by acts of outrage and violence.

After the decision by the crown, assigning this territory to the province of New York, had the government, as prudence would have dictated, allowed those already in possession to have quietly held their lands, no controversy would ever have arisen. The inhabitants were by no means disposed to question the jurisdiction of New York; but, considering their lands honestly purchased, they felt that they could not be called upon, on any principle of justice, to relinquish them. They had acquired their possessions by a hard and laborious course of life, and had suffered many privations in the settlement of the country. That, under these circumstances, they should quietly give up their estates to greedy speculators, or pay four times the original sum which they had advanced for them, was more than could have been reasonably expected.

SEC. VI. 1765. Much excitement was produced by the *stamp act*, which was passed by the British parliament, early in the present year, for the purpose of raising a revenue from their American colonies.

This act ordained that all instruments of writing, such as deeds, bonds, notes, &c., among the colonies, should be null and void, unless executed on stamped paper, for which a duty should be paid to the crown.

The stamp act, though highly popular with the ministry, was not suffered to pass without a spirited opposition. When the bill was brought in, the ministers, and particularly George Grenville, exclaimed, "These Americans, our own children,

planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms, until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence—will they now turn their backs upon us, and grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load which overwhelms us?"

Colonel Barre caught the words, and, with a vehemence becoming in a soldier, said ; " *Planted by your care?* No! your oppression planted them in America : they fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and, among others, to the savage cruelty of the enemy of the country, a people the most subtle, and, I take upon me to say, the most truly terrible, of any people that ever inhabited any part of God's earth ; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends. *They nourished by your indulgence?* They grew by your neglect. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of the deputies of some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them ; men, whose behavior, on many occasions, has caused the blood of these sons of liberty to recoil within them ; men, promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to foreign countries, to escape the vengeance of the laws in their own. *They protected by your arms?* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence ; have exerted their valor amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontiers, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded for your enlargement the little savings of their frugality, and the fruits of their toils. And *believe me, remember* I this day told you so, that the same spirit which actuated that people at first will continue with them still : but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows, I do not, at this time, speak from motives of party heat ; what I assert proceeds from the sentiments of my heart. However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, any one here may be,

yet I claim to know more of America, having seen, and been more conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if they should be violated: but the subject is delicate; I will say no more."*

The very night the act was passed, doctor Franklin, in London, wrote to Charles Thompson, afterwards secretary of congress, "*The sun of liberty is set; the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy.*" To which Mr. Thompson answered; "Be assured, we shall light *torches of quite another sort*"—thus predicting the convulsions that were about to follow.

SEC. VII. In October, a congress, consisting of twenty-eight delegates, from the assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina, was held at New York, to consult on the common interest. They made a declaration of the rights and grievances of the colonies, petitioned the king for redress, and presented memorials to both houses of parliament.

SEC. VIII. When the *stamp act* arrived in New York, it was contemptuously cried about the streets, under the title of "*The Folly of England, and Ruin of America.*" Serious disturbances took place, soon after, on the arrival of the stamped papers. Mr. Colden, the lieu tenant-governor, was hanged and burnt in effigy. The merchants formed an association, and resolved to direct their correspondents in Europe

to ship no more goods until the *stamp act* should be repealed.

The stamp papers arrived in New York about the last of October. Mr. M'Euers, the stamp distributor, having resigned, to avoid the popular odium, the lieutenant-governor took them into fort George, and made great exertions to secure them. On the first of November, the day on which the stamp act was to go into effect, many of the inhabitants, offended at the conduct, and disliking the political sentiments, of Mr. Colden, having assembled in the evening, proceeded to the fort walls, broke open his stable, and took out his coach ; and, after carrying it through the principal streets of the city, marched to the common, where a gallows was erected, on one end of which they suspended his effigy, with a stamped bill of lading in one hand, and a figure of the devil in the other.

When the effigy had hung a considerable time, they carried it in procession, with the gallows entire, the coach preceding, to the gate of the fort, whence it was removed to the bowling-green, under the muzzles of the guns, where a bonfire was made, and the whole pageantry, including the coach, was consumed, amidst the acclamations of several thousand spectators. They next proceeded to the house of major James, who was a friend to the stamp act, and, after plundering it, consumed every article of the furniture in a bonfire.

The next morning, a paper was drawn up, and read from the balcony of a coffee-house, which was much frequented by the citizens, setting forth the necessity of being peaceable, and calling upon the inhabitants to turn out with their arms upon any alarm, and quell all riotous proceedings. To prevent the effect of this proclamation, captain Sears, a violent opposer of the stamp act, addressed the populace. He assured them, that the intention of the proposal that had been read was to prevent their obtaining possession of the stamped papers, and added, "But we will have them within four-and-twenty hours" The address was answered by loud shouts of applause.

In the evening, the mob again assembled, and insisted on the governor's delivering the stamps into their hands. Mr. Colden attempted to pacify them, by declaring, that he had

nothing to do in relation to the stamps, but should leave it to sir Henry Moore to do as he pleased on his arrival. Not satisfied with this, the people made an attempt to obtain the stamps by force. After much negotiation, it was, however, agreed, that they should be delivered to the corporation; which was accordingly done, and they were deposited in the city hall. Ten boxes of stamps, arriving some time after, were committed to the flames.

On the 6th of November, the people again assembled in the fields, and it was proposed, that a committee be appointed to open a correspondence with the other colonies. This was a measure of so serious and important a nature, as to endanger the property and lives of the committee, especially should the stamp act be enforced, and, for some time, no one would venture to accept the appointment. At length captain Sears and four others offered themselves, and were approved. They agreed among themselves to sign all the letters with their several names, and open a correspondence with all the colonies. The Philadelphians were requested to forward their enclosed letters to the Southern States, and the Bostonians to forward those for New Hampshire.*

On the 25th of December, mutual agreements, concessions and associations were concluded between the sons of liberty of the colony of New York on the one part, and the sons of liberty of the colony of Connecticut on the other part; in which, after professions of allegiance to the king, and attachment to the royal person and family, and agreeing to protect and defend each other in the peaceable, full and just enjoyment of their inherent and accustomed rights as subjects of their respective colonies, they proceed to take notice of the obnoxious act, which they treat as not promulgated, and not to be regarded but for resistance. "Whereas a certain pamphlet has appeared in America, in the form of an act of parliament, called and known by the name of the Stamp Act, but has never been legally published or introduced, neither can it, as it would immediately deprive them of the most invaluable part of the British constitution, namely, the trial by juries, and the most just mode of taxation in the world, that

* Gordon

is, of taxing themselves ; rights that every British subject becomes heir to as soon as born ; for the preservation of which, and every part of the British constitution, they do reciprocally resolve and determine to march with the utmost despatch, at their own proper costs and expense, on the first proper notice, to the relief of those that shall, are or may be in danger from the stamp act, or its promoters and abettors, or any thing relative to it, on account of any thing that may have been in opposition to its obtaining." After recommending mutual vigilance towards those who may be the most likely to introduce the use of stamped papers, to the total subversion of the British constitution and American liberty, and agreeing that they will, to the utmost of their power, by all just ways and means, endeavor to bring all such betrayers of their country to the most condign punishment,—they resolve, "to defend the liberty of the press, in their respective colonies, from all unlawful violations and impediments whatever, on account of the said act, as the only means, under divine Providence, of preserving their lives, liberties and fortunes ; and finally, that they will, to the utmost of their power, endeavor to bring about, accomplish and perfect, the like association with all the colonies on the continent, for the like salutary purposes and no other."

The proposal of uniting with New York and Connecticut was accepted by the sons of liberty at Boston, who proposed to commence a continental union. This proposal was immediately encouraged by circular letters, sent by them into the New England colonies, and sent by those of New York as far as South Carolina.

Although, by the resignation of the stamp-officers, the colonists were laid under legal inability for doing business according to parliamentary laws, yet they adventured to do it, and risked the consequences. Vessels sailed from ports as before ; and the courts of justice, though suspended awhile in most of the colonies, at length proceeded to business without stamps.

SEC. IX. Sir Henry Moore, who had been appointed to supersede general Monckton in the

government of the province, arrived in November, and commenced his administration.

Owing to the spirited opposition of the colonies, the stamp act was repealed in 1766. The repealing act was, however, accompanied by a declaratory act, asserting the power and right of parliament to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

Among the most prominent supporters of the rights of the colonies were lord Camden in the house of peers, and Mr. Pitt in the house of commons. "My position is this," said lord Camden; "I repeat it; I will maintain it to my last hour; taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It is more; it is, in itself, an eternal law of nature. For whatever is a man's own, it is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it attempts an injury; whoever does it commits a robbery."

In the debate on a motion to address the king, Mr. Pitt rose to offer his sentiments on the present crisis of affairs. His speech was in his own bold, nervous and eloquent style. He pronounced every capital measure, taken by the late ministers, to have been entirely wrong. "It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in parliament. When the resolution was taken in this house to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it. *It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies.*

"At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. The colonists are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free coun-

try. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation, the three estates o' the realm are alike concerned; but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone. Now this house represents the commons, as they virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this house, we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty, what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your majesty the property of the commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms. It was just now affirmed, that no difference exists between internal and external taxes; and that taxation is an essential part of legislation. Are not the crown and the peers equally legislative powers with the commons? If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the crown, the peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves; rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power.

“ There is an idea in some, that the Americans are virtually represented in this house; but I would fain know by what province, county, city or borough they are represented here? No doubt by some province, county, city or borough never seen or known by them or their ancestors, and which they never will see or know.

“ The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this their constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it.”

Upon the conclusion of the speech, a profound silence of some minutes ensued. At length, Mr. Grenville rose, and entered into a labored vindication of the measures of his administration. After declaring the tumult in America to border upon rebellion, and insisting upon the constitutional right of parliament to tax the colonies, he concluded as follows. “ Ungrateful people of America! The nation has run

itself into an immense debt to give them protection ; bounties have been extended to them ; in their favor the act of navigation, that palladium of the British commerce, has been relaxed . and now that they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion.”

Immediately after Mr. Grenville had taken his seat, Mr. Pitt rose to reply ; but, the rules of the house forbidding him to speak twice on the same motion, he was called to order, and, in obedience to the call, was resuming his seat, when the loud and repeated cry of “ Go on,” induced him once more to take the floor. In the course of his speech he said, “ We are told America is obstinate—America is in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted ; 3,000,000 of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. I am no courtier of America. I maintain that parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. ‘ When,’ asks the honorable gentleman, ‘ were the colonies emancipated ? ’ At what time, say I in answer, were they made slaves ? I speak from accurate knowledge when I say that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is 2,000,000 per annum. This is the fund which carried you triumphantly through the war ; this is the price America pays you for her protection ; and shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the exchequer, at the loss of millions to the nation ?

“ I know the valor of your troops ; I know the skill of your officers ; I know the force of this country ; but, in such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution with her. Is this your boasted peace ? not to sheathe the sword in the scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen ? The Americans have been wronged ; they have been driven to madness by injustice ! Will you punish them for the madness you

have occasioned? No: let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper. I will pledge myself for the colonies, that, on their part, animosity and resentment will cease. Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house in few words what is really my opinion. It is, that the stamp act be repealed absolutely, totally and immediately."

SEC. X. 1767. The subject of the taxation was again resumed by the parliament, and the colonies were required to make provision for the support of the British troops in America. New York refused; and an act was passed for restraining the assembly of this colony, until they should comply with the requisition. The colonies, generally, now began to be seriously alarmed at the oppressive measures pursued by the British government.

During the present year, the controversy concerning the *New Hampshire Grants* became so serious and alarming as to require the interposition of the crown. A royal order was given to the governor, directing him to suspend all proceedings relative to these grants, until his majesty's further pleasure be made known. The colony of New York contained, at this time, upwards of 160,000 inhabitants.

This period was characterized by a rapid extension of the settlements. Establishments were, about this time, commenced at Johnstown, fort Ann, Whitehall, and several other places. The exertions which were made for the opening and improvement of roads, with the liberal terms on which lands were obtained, tended very much to the promotion of these establishments.

SEC. XI. In 1770, lord Dunmore was appointed governor of the province. He was

succeeded, the following year, by Mr. Tryon, who, in 1772, made an attempt to conciliate the minds of the settlers of the New Hampshire Grants. Some negotiations took place, but no conciliation was effected, and the controversy continued to rage with increasing animosity.

In 1774, the assembly passed an act, by which it was declared felony, punishable by death, for any of the settlers of the New Hampshire Grants to oppose the government by force. The governor, at the same time, made proclamation, offering a reward of 50 pounds each, for the apprehending and securing of Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, and six others of the most obnoxious of the settlers.

The inhabitants of New Hampshire Grants became still more violent in their opposition, and formed new associations for mutual support. At a general meeting of the committees for the townships, on the west side of the Green mountains, it was resolved, "That, for the future, every necessary preparation be made, and that our inhabitants hold themselves in readiness, at a minute's warning, to aid and defend such friends of ours, who, for their merit to the great and general cause, are falsely denominated *rioters*; but that we will not act any thing, more or less, but on the defensive, and always encourage due execution of the law, in civil cases, and also in criminal prosecutions, that are so indeed; and that we will assist, to the utmost of our power, the officers appointed for that purpose." The proscribed persons, in an address to the people of the county of Albany, made this public declaration: "We will kill and destroy any person or persons, whomsoever, who shall presume to be accessory, aiding or assisting in taking any of us."

"To avoid the government of New York, a plan was contrived, about this time, by some of the inhabitants and Philip

Skeen, to have the New Hampshire Grants formed into a royal government, as a new province. Skeen was a colonel in one of the king's regiments, and had large possessions on lake Champlain. To effect his designs, he went to the court of Great Britain, and seems to have met with some success. On March 16th, 1775, he wrote to one of the agents, that he was appointed to the government of Crown Point and Ticonderoga; and should soon call upon all the Hampshire inhabitants for an address, to show their loyalty to the king; and he had no doubt but they would show themselves to be as loyal subjects as he had represented them.”*

SEC. XII. 1775. The coercive measures of the British government were not relinquished. Early in the present year, bills were passed for restraining the trade of New England, and of the middle and southern colonies, with the exception of New York, Delaware and North Carolina.

The manifest object of the ministry, in making this discrimination, was to promote disunion among the colonies. The plan, however, proved unsuccessful. The exempted colonies spurned the proffered favor, and submitted to the restraints imposed on their neighbors.

At the time the restraining acts were framing, the assembly of New York were preparing a petition for a redress of grievances. On the receipt of this petition, the British parliament were not a little disappointed to find the very “loyal assembly of New York” stating, “that an exemption from internal taxation, and the exclusive right of providing for their own civil government, and the administration of justice in the colony, were esteemed, by them, as their undoubted and unalienable rights.”

SEC. XIII. The controversy relative to the

* Williams.

New Hampshire Grants continued to rage with unabated violence. In the spring of the present year, an event took place, which served still further to exasperate both parties.

In consequence of the differences existing with the British government, the courts of justice held under the royal authority, in the adjacent provinces, were either shut up, or adjourned without transacting any business. At the time appointed for the session of the court at Westminster, in the New Hampshire Grants, some of the inhabitants of this and the adjacent towns took possession of the court-house at an early hour, to prevent the officers of the court from entering.

The judges, on being refused admittance at the customary hour of opening the court, retired to their quarters. About 11 o'clock at night, the sheriff and other officers, attended by an armed force, repaired to the court-house; when, being again refused admittance, some of the party fired into the house, killed one man, and wounded several.

The people were highly inflamed by this rash proceeding, and, on the following day, assembled in large numbers. A coroner attended, and a jury of inquest brought in a verdict, that the man was murdered by the court party. Some of the officers were seized, and carried to the jail at Northampton, in Massachusetts, but were released from confinement on application to the chief justice of New York.

Committees of a large body of the people soon after met at Westminster, and, amongst other measures, passed the following resolve:—"That it is the duty of the inhabitants wholly to renounce and resist the administration of the government of New York, until such time as their lives and property can be secured by it; or until they can have opportunity to lay their grievances before the king, with a petition to be annexed to some other government, or erected into a new one, as may appear best for the inhabitants."

SEC. XIV. Matters now appeared about to form a most sanguinary crisis. Both parties were in the highest state of resentment and ex-

asperation, when an event, the most tremendous in its consequences, arrested the attention of all, and gave a new channel to the torrent of popular fury.

The breaking out of the American war at Lexington, by presenting new scenes and greater objects, seems to have prevented either party from proceeding to open hostilities, and turned their attention from their particular contest to the general cause of America. Local and provincial contests were at once swallowed up by the novelty, the grandeur and the importance of the contest, which then opened between Britain and America.

“War, which the people of the colonies supposed would have ceased, and never had any further origin or progress among them, had broke out in a new form, and with a most awful appearance. In their former calamities, war had always borne the appearance of a contest between the crowns of England and France, and was consistent with the acknowledged duties of allegiance, civil and moral law. Now it was clothed in all the political horrors that could be put upon slaughter and destruction. On the part of Great Britain, the Americans said it was a long-concerted plan of systematic oppression and tyranny, in a British king and parliament. On the part of the Americans, the British minister and king declared it was a most insolent scheme of unprovoked treason and rebellion, which must be crushed and punished.

“In this state of irritation and mutual accusation, the sword was drawn, and, from all maxims and measures of monarchy, the Americans knew it was necessary for them to throw away the scabbard. Their business now was not to contend about boundaries, titles, grants, or the decisions of the British courts or parliaments, but to prepare for a contest, the event of which would determine not barely an abstract question about sovereignty, but every thing that concerned their rights,

properties and lives; and this contest, new and unexpected, of a duration and issue totally unknown and incalculable, was to be carried on by a people divided into several provinces, disunited in their interests, manners, forms of religion and government, without a ship, without a magazine, and without a regiment, against one of the most wealthy, powerful and warlike nations of Europe—a nation whom the Americans loved and revered, with whom they had been connected by the ties of blood, religion, affection, language, commerce, interest, and all the considerations which ever can bind one nation to another. Every other object seemed to disappear, and the new and fearful scene of war with Britain became the object of universal attention and exertion. Cool calculations on the most probable issue and effect would have carried the feelings of death into the hearts and proceedings of the Americans; but necessity and the genius of liberty urged and drove them on.”*

* Williams.

CHAP. XI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Origin of the Controversy with Great Britain recapitulated. State of Affairs in the Colony. Convention appoint Delegates to the Provincial Congress. War breaks out at Lexington. Disturbances in New York. Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Governor Tryon arrives. Expedition against Canada. Surrender of Chambly, St. John's and Montreal. Montgomery appears before Quebec. His Death. Inhabitants of Tryon County disarmed. Provincial Troops enter New York. Americans evacuate Canada. Declaration of Independence.

SEC. I. The dissensions between the colonies and their mother country commenced soon after the peace of 1763, and originated in the right claimed by the king and parliament to tax the colonies, and to make laws binding them in all cases. The colonies contended that *taxation* and *representation* were inseparable; and that, as they had no representation in the British parliament, such right could not exist.

Previous to the peace of 1763, the colonies had been permitted to tax themselves without the interference of parliament. The first act, for the avowed purpose of raising a revenue from the colonies, was passed by the British parliament in 1764, laying a duty on sundry articles of American consumption

Of this act the colonies highly disapproved, because it recognised a right to tax them without their consent. In pursuance of the same policy, the celebrated *stamp act* was passed the following year, and excited general indignation throughout the colonies.

SEC. II. The controversy, thus introduced, had been continued for 10 years, increasing in animosity, and had gathered strength and maturity from various circumstances of aggression and violence. The state of affairs during this period presents a series of coercive and oppressive measures on the one hand, and of uniform and unshaken resistance on the other.

The Americans had no desire for a separation from England, and neither party appears to have anticipated a civil war. Both parties were resolutely determined not to abandon the ground they had assumed, and were indulging the hope, that they should ultimately find means to bring their opponents to submission. Matters were, however, obviously tending towards that point, at which all hope of reconciliation must be banished for ever.

SEC. III. 1775. The second continental congress was to be assembled, the present year, at Philadelphia, in May. The subject of sending delegates to this congress was much agitated in the colony of New York, and a large number of the citizens were in favor of the measure. On the refusal of the constitutional assembly to appoint them, a provincial convention was called by the people for this purpose. The convention assembled at the city of New York on the 22d of April, and proceeded to make the appointments.

This convention was composed of deputies from New York, Albany, Dutchess, Ulster, Orange, West-Chester, King's and

Suffolk counties. They appointed Philip Livingston, George Clinton, James Duane, John Alsop, Simon Boerum, William Floyd, John Jay, Henry Wisner, Philip Schuyler, Lewis Morris, Francis Lewis and Robert R. Livingston, jr. delegates to the continental congress, who, or any five of them, were intrusted with full power to concert with the delegates from the other colonies, and determine upon such measures as should be judged most effectual for the preservation and re-establishment of American rights and privileges, and for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the colonies.

An event, which occurred on the 5th of March, will convey a tolerable idea of the state of feeling at that time in the city of New York. "The whigs, whose hearts were set upon having delegates for the new continental congress, upon the assembly's declining to appoint them, contrived to collect their fellow citizens together in order to obtain their opinion.

"When assembled in a body, there was a confused cry of 'Congress or no congress?' After much altercation, the tories had recourse to compulsive reasoning, and began to deal about their blows. The whigs were in the worst situation, not being provided with similar arguments, till two of their number repaired to an adjacent cooper's yard, from whence they drew forth to their friends a number of hoop-sticks, which they reduced to a proper length, and forwarded to the combatants. The whigs soon carried the day, by club-law, and beat their opponents off the ground."*

SEC. IV. The massacre of the provincial militia by the British troops, at Lexington, in Massachusetts, on the 19th of April, opened the scene, and introduced the war of the revolution. The intelligence of this event excited a general burst of indignation throughout the continent.

A large quantity of military stores had been deposited by the provincials at Concord. General Gage, the king's govern-

* Gordon.—The terms *whig* and *tory* were applied to those in favor of and opposed to the continental congress, and were afterwards used as synonymous with *republican* and *royalist*.

or of Massachusetts, sent a detachment from Boston, consisting of 800 men, under lieutenant-colonel Smith and major Pitcairn, to destroy them. On their arrival at Lexington, 70 of the militia had assembled, and were under arms on parade. These were, without provocation, fired upon by the British, and eight were killed, and several wounded. The detachment then advanced to Concord, and destroyed the stores. After killing several of the militia, who came out to oppose them, they retreated to Lexington. During the retreat, they were much harassed by the provincials, who fired upon them from behind walls, hedges and buildings. At Lexington, they were reinforced, by lord Percy, with 900 men, some marines, and two field-pieces. Still annoyed by the provincials, they continued their retreat to Bunker's hill, in Charlestown, and, on the following day, passed over to Boston. The loss of the British, in this enterprise, was 273; that of the Americans amounted to 88 killed, wounded and missing.

The people of New York were, at this crisis, much divided in their opinions with regard to the measures to be pursued. Many were still disposed to continue the exertions for effecting a reconciliation of the controversy with Great Britain. To most it was, however, obvious, that the period of reconciliation was now past, and that the only safety for the colonies was to be found in vigorous and effectual defence against the arms and attacks of their mother country.

SEC. V. The disturbances in the city of New York, May the 5th, assumed so menacing an aspect, as to require extraordinary means for securing the public tranquillity. A committee of 100 of the citizens was appointed for this purpose. This body presented a spirited address to the authorities of the city of London, stating

their determination never to submit to the oppressive measures of the British government.

In this address, they declared that "The disposal of their own property with perfect spontaneity, and in a manner wholly divested of every appearance of constraint, is their indispensable birthright; this exalted blessing they are resolutely determined to defend with their blood, and to transfer, uncontaminated, to their posterity." They professed their readiness to submit cheerfully to a regulation of commerce, by the legislature of the parent country, excluding in its nature every idea of taxation.

They gave assurance, "that America was grown so irritable by oppression, that the least shock in any part was, by the most powerful and sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt through the whole continent; that while the whole continent were ardently wishing for peace on such terms as could be acceded to by Englishmen, they were indefatigable in preparing for the last appeal." Near the close they observe—"We speak the real sentiments of the confederated colonies on the continent, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, when we declare, that all the horrors of a civil war will never compel America to submit to taxation by authority of parliament."

An association was the next day signed by above 1000 of the principal inhabitants of the city and country. They, in the most solemn manner, declared, that they associated to endeavor carrying into execution whatever measures might be recommended by the continental congress, or be resolved upon by their own provincial convention, for the purpose of preserving their constitution, and opposing the execution of the oppressive acts of the British parliament, until a reconciliation between Great Britain and America, on constitutional principles, could be obtained; and they would in all things follow the advice of their general committee, respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private property.*

SEC. VI. It was deemed of importance, for putting the country in a posture of defence, to

secure the fortresses at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Colonel Ethan Allen, with a party of "Green Mountain Boys,"* on the morning of the 10th of May, took possession of Ticonderoga by surprise. On the same day, Crown Point was surrendered to another party under colonel Warner. A third party surprised Skeensborough, (at present *Whitehall*,) and secured that important harbor. The capture of an armed sloop at St. John's, soon after, gave to the Americans the entire command of lake Champlain.

When Allen arrived at Ticonderoga, he demanded the surrender of the fort. "By what authority do you require it?" said De la Place, the commander. "I demand it," said Allen, "in the name of the great Jehovah, and the continental congress!" The fort was in no situation for defence, and was immediately surrendered. By these enterprises, above 200 pieces of cannon, and large quantities of ammunition and military stores, fell into the hands of the Americans.

The capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point was soon followed by the *battle of Bunker's hill*, which was fought, June 17th, on a high eminence in Charlestown, within cannon-shot of Boston. On the evening previous to the engagement, a detachment of 1000 Americans had been ordered to make an intrenchment on Bunker's hill; but, by a mistake, they proceeded to Breed's hill, a short distance from the former, and, during the night, threw up a redoubt eight rods square, and four feet high. On the discovery of this redoubt, in the morning, by the British, they commenced a heavy cannonade upon it, from their ships and floating-batteries, and from a fortification on Copp's hill, in Boston. This was continued till noon without effect, when a detachment of 3000 men, under major-general Howe and brigadier-general Pigot, crossed Charles river with an intention to dislodge the Americans. The British were suffered to approach within twelve rods of

* Troops from the New Hampshire Grants, so called

the redoubt, when the Americans opened their fire. The contest was obstinately maintained, until, unfortunately for the Americans, their ammunition failed, and, on the third charge of the British, they were compelled to retire. The number of British engaged in this action was about 3000, and their killed and wounded 1054. The whole number of Americans engaged was 1500, and their killed, wounded and missing, 453. The loss of major-general Warren, who fell just as the retreat commenced, was severely felt. The town of Charlestown, containing about 600 buildings, was wantonly burned by order of general Gage, the British commander.

SEC. VII. Governor Tryon, who had been some time absent on a visit to Europe, arrived at New York on the 24th of June. He was much esteemed by a large portion of the citizens, and received a complimentary address from the city authorities. His exertions to promote the royal cause soon rendered him extremely unpopular. In October, he became alarmed for his personal safety, and retired on board the Halifax packet.

The few troops that were stationed at New York had been withdrawn some time previous to the arrival of governor Tryon. On the same day on which the address was presented to him, all the king's stores, of various kinds, at Turtle bay, were seized by the provincials, and removed.

The city of New York was thrown into great consternation by an event which occurred on the 22d of August. The convention having resolved on the removal of the cannon from the battery, the business was intrusted to captain Sears. Captain Vandeput, of the Asia man-of-war, then lying in the harbor, was privately apprized of the design, and prepared to oppose its execution. Learning when it was to be attempted,

he ordered a boat to watch the motion of the people assembled for that purpose about midnight. The sailors in the boat giving the signal of what was going forward, with a flash of powder, the persons on shore mistook it for an attempt to fire a musket at them, and immediately aimed a volley of shot at the boat, by which one man was killed. Captain Vandeput then commenced firing from the Asia with grape-shot, by which several persons were wounded. He soon ceased for a considerable time, supposing that the people had desisted from their purpose; while they were only changing their mode of operation. Captain Sears provided a deceiving party, intended to draw the Asia's fire from the line of the working party. He sent the former behind a breastwork, by which they were secured on dodging down upon observing the flash of the Asia's guns. When all was in readiness, they huzzaed, and sung out their notes, as though tugging in unison, and fired from the walls; while the working party silently got off 21 eighteen pounders, with carriages. On hearing the noise, and seeing the flash of the musketry, the captain ordered the Asia to fire a whole broadside toward that part of the fort where the deceiving party had secured themselves, without, however, effecting much damage. On the following day, a removal of men, women, children and goods commenced; but matters were soon after so adjusted as to quiet the apprehensions of the citizens.

SEC. VIII. A regular system of military opposition having been resolved upon by the continental congress, George Washington, of Virginia, was appointed commander-in-chief of the American army. Amongst other appointments, Philip Schuyler, of New York, was appointed major-general, and Richard Montgomery brigadier-general.

While Washington was engaged in organizing the main body of the army in Massachusetts, an important expedition was planned against Can-

ada, the command of which was assigned to generals Schuyler and Montgomery.

For this expedition, it was proposed to raise 2000 men, two regiments of which were to be raised in New York, and the remainder from the New England colonies. An armament was fitted out at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and, on September the 4th, Montgomery, with the forces that had arrived, moved down the lake. He was joined by Schuyler at Isle la Motte, when they both moved on to Isle aux Noix, and took measures to prevent the British vessels entering the lake.

On the 6th of September, the American army, consisting of about 1000 men, advanced towards St. John's; but, finding the fort completely fortified and garrisoned, they resolved to return to Isle aux Noix, and await the arrival of artillery and reinforcements. General Schuyler returned to Albany, to conclude a treaty with the Indians.

SEC. IX. The reinforcements having arrived, Montgomery proceeded to St. John's, on the 17th of September, and began the siege. The fort at Chambly, situated farther down the river Sorelle, was soon after invested by majors Brown and Livingston, assisted by the Canadians who had joined the American forces, and compelled to surrender. Having obtained from this capture a large supply of military stores, the siege of St. John's was pressed with great vigor. After an obstinate resistance, this fortress, with about 700 prisoners of war, was surrendered to Montgomery, on the 3d of November.

Montreal was, soon after, surrendered without opposition. From this place, Montgomery rapidly advanced towards Quebec.

During the siege of St. John's, general Carlton, with a force of 800 men, chiefly from Montreal, made an effort to relieve

the place. While they were attempting to cross the St. Lawrence, colonel Warner, who, with a body of 300 men, was watching their movements, commenced a most spirited attack, and compelled them to retire in confusion. Upon the fall of St. John's, Carlton retired to Quebec.

In the mean time, a body of troops from Massachusetts, under the command of colonel Arnold, had been detached by general Washington to cooperate against Quebec. Arnold, with 700 men, arrived at point Levi, November 9th, and, on the 19th, encamped at point au Trembles, to await the arrival of Montgomery.

SEC. X. Montgomery, with the New York troops, effected a junction with Arnold on the 1st of December, and, on the 5th, with their united forces, appeared before Quebec. On the 31st, the Americans made an attempt to carry the city by storm. They were, however, repulsed, with the loss of Montgomery, their brave commander, and near half their troops. After this repulse, Arnold, with the remains of the army, retired about three miles from Quebec, where he encamped for the winter.

“Montgomery, having determined to attempt the assault, convoked a council of war, and acquainted them with his project. Without denying that it was of difficult execution, he maintained that it was possible, and that valor and prudence would triumph over all obstacles. All were in favor of his proposition. A few companies of Arnold, dissatisfied with their commander, alone testified their repugnance. But captain Morgan, a man of real merit, addressed them a persuasive discourse, and their opposition ceased. The general had already arranged in his mind the plan of attack, and thought of all the means proper to carry it into execution. He intended it should take place, at the same time, against the upper and lower town. But, understanding a deserter had given notice of it to the governor, he resolved to divide his army into four

corps, two of which, composed in great part of Canadians, under the command of majors Livingston and Brown, were to occupy the attention of the enemy by two feigned attacks of the upper town, towards St. John's and cape Diamond. The two others, led, the first by Montgomery, the second by Arnold, were reserved to assault the lower part of the town from two opposite points. The general was perfectly aware that, after he should have carried this part of Quebec, there would remain many difficulties to be surmounted, in order to conquer the other. But he hoped that the inhabitants, on seeing so great a proportion of their property fallen into the power of the victors, would force the governor to capitulate.

"The last day of the year 1775, between four and five o'clock in the morning, in the midst of a heavy storm of snow, the four columns put themselves in motion, in the best order, each towards the point assigned.

"It is said that captain Frazer, of the Irish emigrants, in going his round, perceived the fusees which the Americans fired to give the signal; and that immediately, without waiting further orders, he caused the drums to beat, and roused the garrison to arms. The columns of Livingston and Brown, impeded by the snow and other obstacles, were not in time to execute their feints. But Montgomery, at the head of his, composed chiefly of New York men, advanced upon the bank of the river, marching by the way denominated *Anse de mer*, under cape Diamond. Here was encountered a first barrier, at a place called *Potasse*, which was defended by a battery of a few pieces of cannon: farther on, at the distance of 200 paces from this, stood a redoubt, furnished with a sufficient guard. The soldiers that composed it, being the greater part Canadians, on seeing the enemy approach, were seized with terror, threw down their arms, and fled. The battery itself was abandoned; and if the Americans could have advanced with sufficient expedition, they would certainly have been masters of it. But, in turning cape Diamond, the foot of which is bathed by the waters of the river, they found the road interrupted by enormous masses of snow. Montgomery, with his own hands, endeavored to open a path for his troops, who followed him man by man: he was compelled to wait

for them. At length, having assembled about 200, whom he encouraged with voice and example, he moved courageously and rapidly toward the barrier. But, in the meantime, a canonier, who had retreated from the battery, on seeing the enemy halt, returned to his post, and, taking a match, which happened to be still burning, fired a cannon charged with grape-shot. The Americans were within 40 paces. This single explosion totally extinguished the hopes they had conceived. Montgomery, as well as captains Macpherson and Cheesman, both young men of singular merit, and dear to the general, were killed upon the spot. The soldiers shrunk back on seeing their general fall; and colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, was not a man capable of executing so perilous an enterprise. The flight soon became universal; so that this part of the garrison, no longer having enemies to combat, was at liberty to fly to the succor of that which was attacked by Arnold.

"This colonel, who was himself at the head of the forlorn hope, marched by the way of St. Roques towards the place called *Saut-au-Matelot*. Captain Lamb followed him with a company of artillery and one piece of cannon: next came the main body, preceded by the riflemen under captain Morgan. The besieged had erected at the entrance of the avenue a battery which defended a barrier. The Americans found themselves confined within a passage obstructed by deep snow, and so commanded by the works of the enemy, that his grape-shot swept it in every direction. Meanwhile, Arnold advanced rapidly under the fire of the besieged, who manned the walls. He received a musket-ball in the leg, which wounded him severely, splintering the bone. It was necessary to carry him to the hospital, almost by compulsion. Captain Morgan then took the command, and, with all the impetuosity of his character, he launched himself against the battery, at the head of two companies. The artillery of the enemy continued to fire grape-shot, but with little effect.

"The American riflemen, celebrated for their extreme address, killed many of the English soldiers through the embrasures. They applied ladders to the parapet. The besieged were daunted, and abandoned the battery to the assailants.

Morgan, with his companies, and a few soldiers of the centre, who were come up to the vanguard, made many prisoners, English as well as Canadians; but his situation became extremely critical. The main body had not yet been able to join him; he had no guide, and he was unacquainted with the city; he had no artillery, and the day was still far from dawning. He found himself constrained to halt; his soldiers began to reflect upon their position; their ardor cooled rapidly. The ignorance in which they were of their other columns; the obscurity of night; the snow, which fell with redoubled violence, the firing of musketry, which was heard on every side, and even behind them; finally, the uncertainty of the future, filled the boldest spirits with an involuntary terror. Morgan alone resisted the panic; he rallied his riflemen, promising them a certain victory. He ran to the barrier to spur on those who had remained behind. Lieutenant-colonel Green, majors Bigelow and Meigs joined him with their companies. The morning began to dawn, when Morgan, with a terrible voice, summoned his troops to the assault. He led on with fury against a second battery, which he knew to be only a few paces distant, though masked by an angle of the road. On turning the corner, he encountered a detachment of English, who had sallied from the battery under the command of captain Anderson. The latter summoned the Americans to lay down their arms. Morgan levelled a musket at his head, and laid him dead upon the ground. The English then retreated within the battery, and closed the barrier. A fierce combat ensued, which cost many lives to the two parties, but most to the Americans, whose flanks were exposed to a destructive fire of musketry from the windows of the houses. Meanwhile, some of the most adventurous, having rested their ladders against the palisade, appeared disposed to leap it; but, on seeing two files of soldiers prepared to receive them on the points of their bayonets, they renounced this project. Cut down by a continual fire, they now sought shelter in the houses. Morgan remained almost alone, near the barrier, endeavoring, in vain, to recall his soldiers, and inspire them with fresh courage. Weariness, and the menacing countenance of the enemy, had disheartened the most audacious. Their arms, bathed by the snow, which continued to fall

impetuously, were no longer of any use to them. Morgan, then, seeing the expedition frustrated, ordered the retreat to sound, in order to avoid being surrounded. But the soldiers who had taken refuge in the houses were afraid to expose themselves to the tempest of shot that must have been encountered, in gaining the corner of the avenue, where they would have been out of danger, and whence they might have retired behind the first barrier. The loss they had sustained, the fury of the storm, and the benumbing effects of the cold, had deprived them of all courage. In the meantime, a detachment of the besieged sallied out from a gate of the palace, and captain Dearborn, who, with his company of provincials, held himself in reserve near this gate, having surrendered, the English retook all this part of the city; consequently, Morgan saw himself encircled by enemies. He proposed to his followers to open, with arms, the way of retreat; but they refused, in the hope that the assault given on the other part might have succeeded, and that Montgomery would soon come to their relief. They resolved to defend themselves in the meantime; but, having at length perceived, by the continually increasing multitude of enemies, the true state of things, they yielded to destiny, and laid down their arms.

“Such was the issue of the assault given by the Americans to the city of Quebec, in the midst of the most rigorous season of the year—an enterprise, which, though, at first view, it may seem rash, was certainly not impossible. The events themselves have proved it; for, if general Montgomery had not been slain at the first onset, it is most probable, that, on his part, he would have carried the barrier, since, even at the moment of his death, the battery was abandoned, and only served by a few men. By penetrating at this point, while Arnold and Morgan obtained the same advantages in their attacks, all the lower city would have fallen into the power of the Americans. However this may be, though victory escaped them, their heroic efforts will be the object of sincere admiration. General Carlton, using his advantages nobly, treated the prisoners with much humanity. He caused the American general to be interred with all military honors.”*

* Botta.

The death of this excellent officer was deeply lamented both in Europe and America. Born of a distinguished Irish family, Montgomery had entered in early youth the career of arms, and had served with honor in the preceding war between Great Britain and France. Having married an American lady, and purchased an estate in the province of New York, he was considered, and considered himself, an American. He loved glory much, and liberty yet more. Neither genius, nor valor, nor occasion, failed him, but time and fortune. And if it is allowable from the past actions of men to infer the future, what motives are there for believing, that, if death had not taken him from his country in all the vigor of his age, he would have left it the model of military heroism and of civil virtue! He was beloved by the good, feared by the wicked, and honored even by enemies. The most powerful speakers in the British parliament displayed their eloquence in praising his virtues and lamenting his fall. Congress directed a monument to be erected to his memory, expressive of their sense of his high patriotism and heroic conduct.

The garrison of Quebec consisted, at the time of the above attack, of about 1500 men; the American forces were about 800. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 100, and 300 were taken prisoners.

SEC. XI. 1776. Congress received information, that a large number of the inhabitants of Tryon county were disaffected to the American cause, and, under the direction of sir John Johnson, were making military preparations. It was resolved to disarm them, and the business was accordingly committed to general Schuyler.

General Schuyler, about the middle of January, called out 700 of the Albany county militia, and commenced his march; but such was the enthusiasm of the people, that, on his arrival at Caghnewaga, his force amounted to near 3000, including 900 of the Tryon county militia. The approach of so formidable a force intimidated the royalists to such a degree, that they were ready to make proposals of submission.

It was agreed that sir John, having given his parole of honor not to take up arms against America, should confine himself to certain limits ;—that he should deliver up all the cannon, arms and military stores, that, to his knowledge, were in the county, a few favorite family arms excepted ;—that the inhabitants should surrender their arms and 12 prisoners, who were to be selected by general Schuyler, and to be treated with humanity and due deference to rank. The whole number disarmed was supposed to amount to about 600.

About the same time, a considerable number were intrenching themselves on Long Island, for the purpose of supporting the royal cause. A detachment of the Jersey militia were sent over, by whom they were disarmed, and their leaders secured.

SEC. XII. General Lee, preceded by a detachment of the continental troops, entered New York early in February. In March, general Washington succeeded in expelling the British troops from Boston, and, anticipating an attempt upon New York, soon after, made this place the head-quarters of the army.

About the time of Lee's arrival, the inhabitants were thrown into great consternation by the appearance of general Clinton, with an armed force, at the Hook. General Lee gave out—“If the men of war set one house on fire in consequence of my coming, I will chain an hundred of their friends together, and make that house their funeral pile.” Had any thing been attempted, he would, probably, have retaliated in a formidable manner ; but Clinton, after tarrying a short time at the Hook, sailed to the southward.

SEC. XIII. The siege of Quebec was regularly maintained during the winter, and considerable reinforcements were ordered to that post. General Thomas was appointed to take the command,

and arrived on the 1st of May. The American force before Quebec amounted to 1900 men; but, the small-pox having broken out among the troops, not more than 900 were fit for duty. As it was impossible, in the present state of the army, to effect any enterprise, it was resolved, May the 5th, to make the best retreat in their power.

The arrival of reinforcements gave the British a decided superiority, and the American army, in a series of unfortunate movements, were compelled to abandon one post after another, until, on the 17th of June, they wholly evacuated Canada.

Previous to the retreat of the Americans from before Quebec, Arnold had been stationed at Montreal. To prevent an attack from the English posts on the Upper St. Lawrence and the lakes, a party of the Americans, amounting to 390, had been stationed at the Cedars, a small fort, 43 miles above the city, under the command of colonel Beadle. A detachment of the British, under the command of a captain Foster, had come down from the lakes against this place. It consisted of 40 British soldiers, 100 Canadians, and about 500 Indians; but they were armed only with muskets. Beadle, in a pusillanimous manner, abandoned the command of the fort to a major Butterfield, and repaired to Montreal for a reinforcement; and Butterfield, with an equal want of spirit, surrendered the fort and garrison to Foster, on the 15th of May. Major Henry Sherburne, a brave and able officer, was detached from Montreal, with 140 men, to relieve the post at the Cedars. Before Sherburne arrived, Butterfield had surrendered, and his small party was surrounded and taken prisoners by the savages. Many of them were sacrificed to the savage fury, butchered by the tomahawk, or barbarously wounded and maimed after they had surrendered. Twenty were killed in cold blood, and seven or eight were carried off by the Indians; the rest were

stripped almost naked, drove in that situation to the fort, and delivered to captain Foster. To check this scene of conquest and barbarity, Arnold marched for the Cedars, at the head of 8 or 900 men. To save himself and his garrison, Foster acquainted Arnold, that, if he would not agree to a cartel, which Sherburne and the other officers had been required and agreed to sign, but moved on to attack him, the Indians would immediately proceed to put every prisoner to death. Arnold hesitated, and was much averse to such a measure. At length he agreed to it, as the only expedient to save the prisoners from an immediate massacre. A cartel was concluded and signed the 27th of May, for the exchange of 474 Americans, who had been taken at the Cedars: and that four American captains should remain as hostages till the prisoners were exchanged. The threatenings of Foster, his avowal of an universal massacre of the Americans, and the actual murder of several of them after their surrender, were deeply resented by congress. They resolved that Arnold's agreement was nothing more than a sponson that might be annulled or confirmed by them, as he had no power to dispose of prisoners not in his possession or under his direction. They refused to return the British prisoners on their part, till the British commander in Canada should deliver into their hands the perpetrators of the murders committed on the American prisoners, and make indemnification for the plunder of prisoners, contrary to the articles of capitulation. At the same time, they cashiered Beadle and Butterfield, and declared them incapable of ever bearing a commission again in the American armies.*

General Thomas died of the small-pox at Sorelle, and the command devolved on general Sullivan. By the assistance of Stark, Poor, Wayne, and other excellent officers, he succeeded in making a safe retreat before a far superior British force, and bringing the shattered remains of the American army safe to Crown Point.

In June, an expedition was conducted by the British, under general Clinton and sir Peter Parker, against Charleston, South Carolina. On the 22th, they attacked the fort on Sullivan's

* Williams.

Island, six miles below the town, with two 50 gun ships, four frigates of 28 guns, besides several smaller vessels, and above 3000 men. On the fort were mounted 28 cannon, with which the garrison, consisting of 375 regulars and a few militia, under the command of colonel Moultrie, made a most gallant defence. The attack was sustained for above 10 hours, when the British were compelled to retire, having their ships much shattered, and with the loss of 200 killed and wounded. The loss of the Americans was only 10 men killed, and 22 wounded. The fort, in compliment to the commanding officer, was, from that time, called *fort Moultrie*.

SEC. XIV. The Americans, notwithstanding the misfortunes which had attended their operations the present year, were not dispirited. On the 7th of June, a motion was made in the continental congress, then in session at Philadelphia, for a declaration of independence. After mature deliberation, they, on the *4th of July*, 1776, in the name and by the authority of the people of the united colonies, solemnly published and declared—

“ That the united colonies are, and of right ought to be, *Free and Independent States*; and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.”

The motion for the declaration of independence was made in congress by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia. This motion occasioned very interesting and animated debates, and gave great scope to genius and eloquence. Mr. Lee concluded his address to the house as follows:—“ Why, then, do we longer delay? why still deliberate? Let this most happy day give birth to the American republic. Let her arise, not to devastate and conquer, but to re-establish the reign of peace and of the

laws. The eyes of Europe are fixed upon us. She demands of us a living example of freedom, that may contrast, by the felicity of the citizens, with the ever-increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum, where the unhappy may find solace, and the persecuted repose. She entreats us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant, which first sprang up and grew in England, but is now withered by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under its salubrious and interminable shade all the unfortunate of the human race.

“This is the end presaged by so many omens, by our first victories, by the present ardor and union, by the flight of Howe,* and the pestilence which broke out amongst Dunmore’s people,† by the very winds which baffled the enemy’s fleets and transports, and that terrible tempest which engulfed 700 vessels upon the coast of Newfoundland. If we are not this day wanting in our duty to our country, the names of the American legislators will be placed, by posterity, at the side of those of Theseus, of Lycurgus, of Romulus, of Numa, of the three Williams of Nassau, and of all those whose memory has been, and will be for ever, dear to virtuous men and good citizens.”

SEC. XV. The intelligence of the declaration of independence was received on the 9th by the convention of the state of New York, then in session at White Plains. They immediately passed a unanimous resolution, fully approving of the measure, and expressing their determination, at the risk of their lives and fortunes, to unite with the other colonies in supporting it.

The declaration was signed by all the members of the continental congress. The delegates from New York were *Wil-*

* Alluding to the evacuation of Boston by the British under Howe.

† Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, retired to the Fowey man of war, on board of which, and the other vessels of his squadron, a pestilential malady broke out, which carried off great numbers of the crowd, both white and black, which had thronged his vessels.

liam Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, and Lewis Morris. (For the declaration, see *Appendix, No. 1.*)

When the declaration arrived at New York, it was read, in accordance with general orders, at the head of each brigade of the continental army, and was every where received with the utmost demonstrations of joy. The same evening, the equestrian statue of the king was laid prostrate, and the lead, of which it was composed, doomed to be cast into bullets, for the use of the army.

CHAP. XII.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.
FROM 1776 TO 1778.

Disposition of British and American Troops at New York. Battle on Long Island. Americans evacuate New York. Americans continue to retreat. Fort Washington taken by the British. Operations on Lake Champlain. Convention adopt the State Constitution. Commencement of the Northern Campaign in 1777. Invasion of Burgoyne. His Capture. Enterprise of Clinton. State Government organized.

SEC. I. 1776. It was now expected, that the enemy would make New York the principal point of attack, and great exertions were made for putting the place in a posture of defence. General Washington arrived on the 14th of April. The command of the British force was intrusted to lord Howe and his brother sir William. On the 22d of August, lord Howe landed his troops, estimated at 24,000 men, at Gravesend bay, on Long Island. The American army, amounting to 15,000, under the command of general Sullivan, were encamped on a peninsula near the village of Brooklyn.

The centre of the British army, composed of Hessians, under general Heister, encamped at Flatbush. The left wing, under general Grant, extended to the coast. The right wing, composed of the principal army, under the command of generals Clinton, Percy and Cornwallis, was extended towards the opposite coast at Flatla

The Americans had thrown up strong fortifications, which were separated from New York by East river. A line of intrenchments from Mill creek to the elbow of East river enclosed the American camp. The armies were separated by a range of hills, covered with thick wood, which intersected the country from west to east, terminating near Jamaica. These high-lands were occupied by large detachments from the American army.

SEC. II. On the 27th of August, the British made an attack on the advanced posts of the American army. After an obstinate engagement, the Americans were compelled to retire, with great loss, to their intrenchments. They now resolved to withdraw from the island, and, on the 30th, a safe retreat was effected.

“ The position of the Americans having been reconnoitred, sir William Howe, from the intelligence given him, determined to attempt to turn their left flank. The right wing of his army, consisting of a strong advanced corps, commanded by general Clinton, and supported by the brigades under lord Percy, began at nine o’clock at night, on the 26th of August, to move from Flatland, and, passing through the New Lots, arrived on the new road that crosses the hills from Bedford to Jamaica. Having taken a patrol, they seized the pass, without alarming the Americans. At half after eight in the morning, the British troops, having passed the heights, and reached Bedford, began an attack on the left of the American army. In the centre, general De Heister, soon after daylight, had begun to cannonade the troops which occupied the direct road to Brooklyn, and which were commanded by general Sullivan in person. As soon as the firing toward Bedford was heard, De Heister advanced, and attacked the centre of the Americans, who, after a warm engagement, were routed, and driven into the woods. The firing toward Bedford giving them the alarming notice that the British had turned their left flank, and were getting completely in their rear, they endeavored to escape to the camp. The sudden rout of the party enabled

De Heister to detach a part of his force against those who were engaged near Bedford. There, also, the Americans were broken, and driven into the woods; and the front of the British column, led by general Clinton, continuing to move forward, intercepted and engaged those whom De Heister had routed, and drove them back into the woods. There they again met the Hessians, who drove them back on the British. Thus alternately chased and intercepted, some forced their way through the enemy to the lines of Brooklyn; several saved themselves in the coverts of the woods; but a great part of the detachment was killed or taken.

"The left column, led by general Grant, advancing from the Narrows along the coast, to divert the attention of the Americans from the principal attack on the right, had, about midnight, fallen in with lord Stirling's advanced guard, stationed at a strong pass, and compelled them to relinquish it. As they were slowly retiring, they were met, on the summit of the hills, about break of day, by lord Stirling, who had been directed, with the two nearest regiments, to meet the British on the road leading from the Narrows. Lord Stirling having posted his men advantageously, a furious cannonade commenced on both sides, which continued several hours. The firing toward Brooklyn, where the fugitives were pursued by the British, giving notice to lord Stirling that the enemy had gained his rear, he instantly gave orders to retreat across a creek, near the Yellow hills. The more effectually to secure the retreat of the main body of the detachment, he determined to attack in person a British corps under lord Cornwallis, stationed at a house somewhat above the place where he proposed crossing the creek. With about 400 men, drawn out of Smallwood's regiment for that purpose, he made a very spirited attack, and brought up this small corps several times to the charge, with confident expectation of dislodging lord Cornwallis from his post; but, the force in his front increasing, and general Grant now advancing in his rear, he was compelled to surrender himself and his brave men prisoners of war. This bold attempt, however, gave opportunity to a large part of the detachment to cross the creek, and effect an escape."*

The loss of the Americans in the battle on Long Island, in killed, wounded and taken prisoners, was upwards of 1000. Among the prisoners captured by the enemy were generals Sullivan, Stirling and Woodhull. The loss of the British was estimated at about 400.

The successful retreat from Long Island was attended by favorable auspices, and conducted with the most consummate address. After the necessary preparations, on the 29th of August, at eight in the evening, the troops silently began to move, and at eleven were on board their vessels. A violent north-east wind, and ebb tide, at first prevented their passage. Fortunately, the wind suddenly veered to the north-west, when they immediately made sail, and landed in New York. About two o'clock in the morning, a thick fog, at this season of the year uncommon, covered Long Island, the New York side remaining perfectly clear. It was not till some time after sunrise, that the fog was dispelled, and the English perceived that the Americans had abandoned their camp, and were sheltered from pursuit.

SEC. III. Immediately after their victory on Long Island, the enemy made dispositions to attack New York. It was thought prudent to evacuate the city, and the American troops retired to Haerlem and King's Bridge. The British took possession of the place on the 15th of September, and encamped the main body of their army on York Island, near the American lines.

The day following the retreat from New York, a considerable body of the enemy appearing in the plains between the two camps, general Washington ordered colonel Knowlton, with a corps of rangers, and major Leitch, with three companies of a Virginian regiment, to get in

their rear, while he amused them by making apparent dispositions to attack their front. The plan succeeded, and a skirmish ensued, in which the Americans charged the enemy with great intrepidity, and gained considerable advantages. This action exerted a happy influence in reviving the depressed spirits of the army.

A few days after the British took possession of New York, a very destructive fire broke out in the city, nearly one fourth part of which was laid in ashes. About 1000 houses were consumed.

SEC. IV. The American army being, in point of numbers, greatly inferior to that of the enemy, it was resolved, in council of war, to adopt the course of evacuating and retreating. General Washington, accordingly, drew off the main body of the army from York Island, and encamped at White Plains. Lord Howe advanced upon him with 15,000 effective men, and an engagement ensued on the 28th of October. The loss on each side amounted to several hundreds, but no decisive advantage was obtained.

On the 30th, the British army, having received considerable reinforcements, again made dispositions to attack the American lines; but a violent rain setting in induced a postponement of the assault. The Americans, soon after, withdrew, in the night, to the heights of North Castle, about five miles from White Plains; there their position was so strong, that the enemy declined any attempt. General Washington, leaving about 7500 men, under general Lee, for the defence of North Castle, then crossed the Hudson, and continued his retreat to the southward.

SEC. V. The American army continued retiring from New York, and sir William Howe

embraced the opportunity of reducing fort Washington, on the Hudson.

The fort was invested by the English forces on the 16th of November. After a severe contest, which continued nearly the whole day, colonel Magaw, the commander, finding his ammunition mostly exhausted, surrendered the fortress, and, with it, about 2000 men, as prisoners of war. Fort Lee, on the Jersey shore, was soon after abandoned to the enemy.

SEC. VI. While these operations were going on in the southern part of the state, the northern division of the army, under general Gates, was engaged in repairing the fortress at Ticonderoga, and making preparations for securing the command of lake Champlain. The works of Ticonderoga were considerably enlarged, and, by the 18th of August, a considerable naval force was equipped and fitted for action.

This armament consisted of one sloop, three schooners, and five gondolas, carrying 55 guns, besides 70 swivels, and was manned with about 400 men. The British, in the meantime, at the north end of the lake, were engaged in fitting out a superior naval force, which was completed early in October. In the number of vessels, guns and implements of war, and the number of men, the strength of the British was double to that of the American fleet.

SEC. VII. The American fleet under general Arnold, the last of August, sailed down the lake, and took a position between Isle Valcour and the western main. General Carlton, with the British, proceeded up the lake, and made an attack on the 11th of October. An engagement ensued, which was obstinately maintained for several hours, when, the wind being unfavorable for the British, they withdrew their vessels from

the action. Arnold, convinced of the superior strength of the enemy, endeavored, during the night, to effect a retreat. He was pursued on the following morning, and, on the 13th, a second engagement took place, near Crown Point, in which the British were completely victorious. Arnold landed his men, and, after blowing up his vessels, and firing the fortress at Crown Point, retreated to Ticonderoga.

SEC. VIII. General Gates had now put the works at Ticonderoga in a state of defence, and, with 12,000 effective men, awaited an attack from the enemy. General Carlton, after reconnoitring the place, and not deeming it prudent to make the attack, remained some time at Crown Point, and, on the approach of winter, returned to Canada.

General Washington, after having crossed the Hudson, continued his retreat through New Jersey, and crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania. The unfortunate operations of the war in this quarter spread a deep and general gloom over the American cause. The continental congress were, however, not discouraged by these misfortunes, and proceeded to draw up articles of confederation and perpetual union between the states.

On the night of the 25th of December, general Washington recrossed the Delaware, and advanced to Trenton, where, on the following day, he surprised and made prisoners 1000 Hessians, who were in the service of the enemy. After securing these prisoners on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, he proceeded to Princeton, and attacked a detachment of the British, who had taken refuge in the college. Sixty of the enemy were killed, and three hundred taken prisoners.

SEC. IX. 1777. The people of New York from the commencement of the war, and tho

consequent abolition of the legal authority, had been governed by the ordinances of the state convention and the directions of the council of safety. Early in the present year, they directed their attention to the more perfect organization of their internal police, and the establishment of civil government.

A convention of delegates, elected and authorized for this purpose, assembled at Kingston on the 20th of April, and adopted the state constitution. George Clinton, esq. was, soon after, elected by the freeholders to the office of governor.

The character of the constitution, adopted by this convention, was republican; and, while it formed the original compact between the people and their rulers, it served as a declaration and bill of rights. By this constitution, the supreme executive power was vested in a governor, and a lieutenant-governor, who was to preside over the senate, and perform the duties of the supreme executive in case of any vacancy. The supreme legislative power was vested in the senate and house of assembly, who were to hold, at least, one session every year. The governor and members of the senate and house of assembly were to be elected by the freeholders of the state of New York.

The council of safety were directed by the convention to regulate the manner in which the first elections should be made, and were invested with all the powers necessary for the safety and preservation of the state, until a meeting of the legislature. The time appointed by the convention for the first meeting of this body was the 1st of July; but, on account of the embarrassment occasioned by the warlike operations in the country, the time for this meeting was postponed, by several successive prorogations, to the 1st of September.

SEC. X. A principal object of the British, in the campaign of the present year, was to open

a communication between New York and Canada, and separate New England from the neighboring states.

The plan of operations consisted of two parts. General Burgoyne, with the main body of the army from Canada, was to advance by way of lake Champlain, and effect a junction, at Albany, with the royal army from New York. A detachment of British soldiers, and a large body of Indians under colonel St. Leger, with a regiment of New York loyalists under sir John Johnson, were to ascend the St. Lawrence to lake Ontario, and penetrate toward Albany by the way of the Mohawk river.

SEC. XI. Early in the spring of the present year, several enterprises were undertaken by the royal army in New York for the destruction of American stores.

A detachment of about 500 landed at Peekskill, March 23, but, on the approach of an American force, fired the principal store-houses, and retired. Another detachment, of 2000, under general Tryon, proceeded, April 26th, to Danbury, in Connecticut, and, after destroying 18 houses, with large stores of provisions, were attacked by the Americans, and retired with considerable loss.

In retaliation for these predatory excursions, an enterprise was soon after undertaken, by the Americans against Long Island. Sagg Harbor was, May 23d, completely surprised, and 12 vessels, with forage for the use of the army, were destroyed. About 100 of the enemy were killed and taken prisoners, without the loss of a single man, by the Americans.

SEC. XII. On the 30th of June, general Burgoyne, with an army of above 7000 men, exclusive of a corps of artillery, and a large

body of Indians, advanced to Crown Point, and proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. General St. Clair, the American commander, abandoned the fortress on the 6th of July, and, after a laborious and distressing march, effected a junction with general Schuyler at fort Edward.

The rear guard of the American army, under colonel Warner, consisting of above 1000 men, was overtaken and attacked at Hubbardton by a body of the enemy amounting to 850, under general Fraser. The Americans made an obstinate resistance, until a reinforcement of the enemy arrived, when they were completely routed, with the loss of about 400 men killed and taken prisoners.

The forces of general Schuyler at fort Edward, after the junction of St. Clair, did not amount to over 4400 men. Considering the superior force of the enemy, it was resolved to evacuate this post; and, accordingly, on the approach of Burgoyne, Schuyler retired over the Hudson to Saratoga.

SEC. XIII. General Burgoyne arrived at fort Edward on the 30th of July. On the 3d of August, St. Leger, with a large detachment, invested fort *Schuyler*,* under the command of general Gansevoort. On the approach of the royal forces, general Herkimer assembled the militia for the relief of the garrison, but fell into an ambuscade, and was defeated with great slaughter.

The force under St. Leger, consisting of English, Germans, Canadians and American loyalists, amounted to about 800 men. He was followed by a train of savages, with their

* Formerly fort *Stanwix*, at the head of the Mohawk river.

wives and children, thirsting indeed for carnage and plunder, but feeble auxiliaries in besieging fortresses. Colonel Gansevoort, on being summoned by the English, answered that he should defend himself to the last. Apprized of this state of things, and knowing the importance of this fort to the United States, general Herkimer, a leading man in the county of Tryon, assembled the militia, and marched with all expedition to the relief of Gansevoort. He sent an express from the camp of Erick, six miles from the fort, to inform him, that he was about to advance and make every exertion to effect his junction with the garrison. Gansevoort directed lieutenant-colonel Willet to make a sally upon the British lines, in order to favor the attempt of Herkimer; but the English commander, perceiving how dangerous it was to receive the enemy in his intrenchments, and knowing full well how much better the Indians were adapted for the attack than for acting upon the defensive, detached colonel Johnson, with a part of the regular troops and the Indians, to intercept the Americans upon their approach. General Herkimer advanced with extreme negligence, without examination of his ground, without a reconnoitring party in front, and without rangers upon his flanks—a thing the more surprising, as he could not have been ignorant how liable he was to ambuscades from the nature of the country, and the singular adroitness of the savages in that mode of war. These barbarians soon found occasion to give him a sanguinary proof of it. They concealed themselves with a detachment of regulars in the woods near the road by which the Americans approached. The moment the column had passed, they suddenly fell upon the rear-guard with inconceivable fury. After the first fire, the Indians rushed on with their spears and hatchets, and killed with the same cruelty those who resisted and those who surrendered. The disorder became extreme; the carnage was frightful; and even the horrible aspect of the principal actors contributed to heighten the terrors of the scene. The Americans, however, recovered from their first surprise, and, forming themselves into a solid column, attained an advantageous ground, which enabled them to maintain a spirited resistance. They would, nevertheless, have been overborne by the number and fury of

the enemy, if the intelligence of the attack upon his camp by colonel Willet had not induced him to retire. Four hundred Americans were slain, and among them general Herkimer. Many of the most distinguished men of the province, and several of the most considerable magistrates, shared the same fate. The royalists looked upon this success as a sure pledge of the approaching reduction of the rebels. Their victory, however, was not bought without blood. Besides a certain number of regulars, about 69 Indians were killed and wounded, among whom were several of their principal chiefs, and of their most distinguished and favorite warriors. It appears also, that, in the heat and confusion of the conflict, several savages were killed by the English themselves. Thus these intractable and undisciplined barbarians, by nature ferocious, and inclined to suspicion, irritated at finding a resistance to which they had not been accustomed, became still more refractory, and still more ruthless. They wreaked the first transports of their rage upon the unhappy prisoners, whom they inhumanly butchered in cold blood. Submission to European officers became insupportable to them, and they refused to obey. It was now perceived, that their presence was more prejudicial, and even more dangerous, than useful to the British army.

Meanwhile colonel Willet had conducted his sally with great spirit and ability. He entered the enemy's camp at the first onset, killed a great number of his men, and drove the rest into the woods or into the river. But, his sole object being to make a diversion in favor of Herkimer, as soon as he had accomplished it, he returned into the fort, carrying with him, in triumph, the spoil and besieging utensils that he had taken from the enemy. The English were desirous of intercepting his retreat, and had prepared an ambuscade for the purpose, but his vigilance eluded the danger: he kept the assailants at a distance by a violent fire of musketry, and of artillery with grape-shot. He led back his whole corps without loss, and raised a trophy, composed of the conquered arms and baggage, under the American standard, which waved upon the walls of the fortress. He afterwards undertook, in company with another officer, named Stockwell, a much more

perilous expedition. They passed by night through the English camp, and, in contempt of the danger and cruelty of the savages, made their way, for 50 miles, through pathless woods and unexplored morasses, in order to raise the country and bring relief to the fort: an action so magnanimous it is impossible to commend too much.

Colonel St. Leger left no means untried to profit by his victory, by intimidating the garrison. He sent verbal and written messages, stating their hopeless situation, the utter destruction of their friends, the impossibility of their obtaining relief, as general Burgoyne, after destroying every thing in his way, was now at Albany, receiving the submission of all the adjoining countries. After prodigiously magnifying his own force, as well as that of Burgoyne, he promised the Americans that, in case of an immediate surrender, they should be treated according to the practice of civilized nations: at the same time he declared, that if, through an incorrigible obstinacy, they should continue a hopeless and fruitless defence, not only the soldiers would fall victims to the fury of the savages, but that, however against his will, every man, woman and child, in the Mohawk country, would be massacred and scalped without mercy.

Colonel Gansevoort replied, with great firmness, that he had been intrusted with the charge of the garrison by the United States of America; that he should defend the trust committed to his care at every hazard, and to the utmost extremity; and that he neither thought himself accountable for, nor should he at all concern himself about, any consequences that attended the discharge of his duty. He had very judiciously conjectured, that, if the force of the British commander had been sufficient, he would have made a more simple summons, or would have attacked the fort immediately, without wasting his time in drawing up so extraordinary a bravado. The British commander, finding that neither ambuses nor threats could effect his purpose, turned all his thoughts upon a regular siege. But he was not long in perceiving that the fort was stronger, and much better defended, than it had been reported. He also found, by experience, that his artillery was not sufficient in weight to make much impression at a

certain distance. The only remedy was, to bring his approaches so near that they must take effect; which he set about with the greatest diligence. But the savages, from the dissatisfaction they felt at their late losses, and from the disappointment of their hopes of plunder, became every day more sullen and ungovernable. The English commander was in continual apprehension that they would pillage his camp, and abandon the British standard. In this disagreeable situation, he was informed that general Arnold was approaching, at the head of a strong detachment, to relieve the fort. It appears that general Schuyler, upon intelligence that the fort which had taken his name was besieged, had despatched Arnold to its succor, with a brigade of regular troops commanded by general Larned, which was afterwards reinforced by 1000 light-infantry, detached by general Gates. Arnold had advanced, with his usual celerity, up the Mohawk river; but, before he had got half way, having learned that Gansevoort was hard pushed by the enemy, and knowing all the importance of the expedition, he quitted the main body, and, with a light-armed detachment of only 900 men, set forward by forced marches towards the fortress. The Indians, who were incessantly upon the lookout, were soon informed of his approach by their own scouts, or by the spies that were despatched by Arnold himself, who prodigiously exaggerated his strength. At the name of Arnold, and in their present temper, they were seized with terror and dismay. Other scouts arrived, immediately after, with a report, which probably grew out of the affair of Bennington, that Burgoyne's army was entirely cut to pieces. They would stay no longer, and assembled tumultuously, intending to abandon the camp. Colonel St. Leger endeavored to dissipate their terrors, and detain them, by promising to lead them himself, to bring all his best troops into action, and by carrying their leaders out to mark a field of battle, and the flattery of consulting them upon the intended plan of operation. Finally, the British commander called a council of their chiefs, hoping that, by the influence which colonel Johnson, and the superintendents, Claus and Butler, had over them, they might still be induced to make a stand. He was disappointed. A part of the sava-

ges decamped whilst the council was sitting, and the remainder threatened peremptorily to abandon him if he did not immediately retire. The English were forced to comply with their demands. On the 22d of August, St. Leger raised the siege, and, making a precipitate retreat, returned to Montreal.*

SEC. XIV. While the British army were encamped at fort Edward, a detachment, under colonel Baum, made an attempt to surprise the American stores collected at Bennington, on the New Hampshire grants. General Stark collected the militia, and, on the 26th of August, an obstinate engagement took place, in which the British were totally defeated. Their commander was mortally wounded, and about 600 men were killed and taken prisoners.

“General Stark, while on his march, with a body of New Hampshire militia, to join general Schuyler, receiving intelligence of Baum’s approach, altered his movement, and collected his force at Bennington. This gallant officer, being joined, on the 16th, by a company of militia from the grants, and another from the county of Berkshire, in Massachusetts, and having now a collective force of about 1600 men, determined to attack colonel Baum in his intrenchments. Having sent colonel Nichols, with 250 men, to the rear of the enemy’s left wing, and colonel Hendrick, with 300, to the rear of their right, and placed 300 to oppose their front and draw their attention, he sent colonels Hubbard and Stickney with 200 to attack the right wing, and 100 more to reinforce colonel Nichols. The attack began precisely at three o’clock in the afternoon. The several detachments seconded the onset, and colonel Stark advanced at the same time with the main body. The engagement lasted two hours; but the German troops were, at length, obliged to abandon their breastworks, and retreat into the woods, leaving their commander mortally wounded on the field of battle. Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, whom Burgoyne had detached, with 500 Germans, to the as-

sistance of colonel Baum, coming up just in time to join the fugitives, was vigorously attacked by the Americans, and, after having made a very gallant resistance, and expended all his ammunition, was obliged to retreat."*

The affairs of fort Schuyler and Bennington gave a new aspect to the American cause. By these successes, the militia were inspired with greater confidence in themselves, and the inhabitants generally encouraged to take up arms for the defence of the country. The Americans had previously been much irritated by the severe treatment which their soldiers had received while prisoners of war in the power of the enemy.† The cruelties recently committed by the Indians under St. Leger and Burgoyne likewise powerfully contributed to excite the mass of the people, and stimulate them to rise against the English army with more than ordinary feelings of hostility. The savages appear to have been but little under the control of the English, and to have spared neither age, nor sex, nor opinions. The friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, were equally victims of their indiscriminate rage. The Americans abhorred and execrated an army which consented to act with such ferocious auxiliaries. Among other events, the murder of Miss M'Crea excited universal interest, and might furnish, if not too horrible, an affecting subject for the dramatic art.

This young lady, of respectable family, and distinguished as well for her virtues as for the beauty of her person and the elegance of her manners, was betrothed to a Mr. Jones, an American refugee, who was an officer in the army of Burgoyne. Solicitous for a union with his intended spouse, Jones despatched a body of Indians to conduct her to the British camp. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of her friends, this

* Holmes's Annals.

† The American soldiers who were prisoners at New York were crowded into the holds of prison-ships, where they were almost suffocated for want of air, and into churches and sugar-houses, without covering or fire. Their allowance of provisions and water for three days was insufficient for one; and, in some instances, they were for four days entirely destitute of food. In consequence of this barbarous treatment, 1500 men died in the course of a few weeks. (See *Appendix No. 2.*)

lady committed herself to their charge. She proceeded on horseback, accompanied by the Indians, to a spring near the foot of a pine tree on the west side of the road, and one mile north of fort Edward. Here they were met by another party of Indians, who had been despatched for the same purpose. A quarrel ensued between the two parties in relation to the reward they were to receive, (a barrel of rum,) in the course of which, one of the savages, transported with brutal fury, raised his club, and laid this unfortunate young lady dead at his feet. She was found, soon after the contest, a short distance from the spring, tomahawked and scalped.

General Burgoyne crossed the Hudson on the 14th of September, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga. General Gates, who had recently taken the command of the northern army, advanced towards the enemy, and encamped three miles above Stillwater. On the night of the 17th, Burgoyne encamped within four miles of the American army.

SEC. XV. On the 19th of September, general Burgoyne advanced upon the Americans, and a severe but indecisive engagement ensued. The contest was resolutely maintained for four hours, when, on the approach of night, the Americans withdrew from the field. The loss of the Americans was about 300; that of the enemy, about 600.

“The right wing of the British was commanded by general Burgoyne, and covered by general Fraser and colonel Breyman, with the grenadiers and light-infantry, who were posted along some high grounds on the right. The front and flanks were covered by Indians, provincials and Canadians. The left wing and artillery were commanded by the major-generals Phillips and Reidesel, who proceeded along the great road. Colonel Morgan, who was detached to observe their motions, and to harass them as they advanced, soon fell in with their pickets in the front of their right wing, attacked them sharply, and drove them in. A strong corps was brought up to support them, and, after a

severe encounter, Morgan was compelled to give way. A regiment was ordered to assist him, and the action became more general. The commanders on both sides supported and reinforced their respective parties; and, about four o'clock, Arnold, with nine continental regiments and Morgan's corps, was completely engaged with the whole right wing of the British army. The Americans at length left the field; not because they were conquered, but because the approach of night made a retreat to their camp necessary. Few actions have been more remarkable than this, for both vigor of attack and obstinacy of resistance."

SEC. XVI. A second engagement took place on the 7th of October. The Americans conducted with great bravery, and obtained a decided victory. The battle was obstinately contested till night put an end to the effusion of blood. The British lost, in killed and taken prisoners, about 400* men, amongst whom were several of their most valuable officers. The loss of the Americans was very inconsiderable.

From the 20th of September to the 7th of October, the two armies continued so near each other, that not a night passed without some skirmishing, and several concerted attacks were made upon the British pickets. The royal army now began to suffer severely from the want of provisions, and Burgoyne resolved, if possible, to dislodge the Americans from their posts on the left, and thus open a retreat to the lakes. For this purpose, on the 7th, 1500 men were drawn out, headed by himself, and assisted by generals Phillips, Reidesel and Fraser. The detachment had scarcely formed, when a furious attack was made on the left, which was sustained by major Ackland, at the head of the British grenadiers, with great firmness. The Americans soon extended their attack along the whole front of the German troops, who were posted on the right of the grenadiers, and marched a body round their

* This is merely an estimate of the number. The statements as to the numbers killed in this engagement are much at variance.

flank, to prevent their retreat. On this movement, the British light-infantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, instantly formed, to cover the retreat of the troops into the camp. Their left wing, in the mean time, overpowered with numbers, was obliged to retreat, and would inevitably have been cut to pieces, but for the intervention of the same troops which had just been covering the retreat of the right.

The whole detachment was now under the necessity of retiring; but scarcely had the British troops entered the lines, when the Americans, led by general Arnold, pressing forward under a tremendous fire of grape-shot and musketry, assaulted the works throughout their whole extent from right to left. Towards the close of the day, Arnold, with a few men, forced the intrenchments, and actually entered the works; but, his horse being killed, and himself badly wounded in the leg, they were forced to retire. On the left of Arnold's detachment, a regiment under lieutenant-colonel Brooks was still more successful. It turned to the right, and carried, by storm, the works occupied by the German reserve. Lieutenant-colonel Breyman was killed, and Brooks maintained the ground he had gained. Among the slain of the enemy was general Fraser, an officer of distinguished merit, whose loss was particularly regretted.

The force under general Gates was greatly augmented by the militia and volunteers, who were constantly pouring in from all quarters, and their commander vigilant in cutting off from the enemy every avenue of retreat. Fourteen hundred men were posted opposite the ford of Saratoga; two thousand in the rear, to prevent a retreat to fort Edward; and fifteen hundred at a ford higher up. Burgoyne, apprehensive of being hemmed in, retired to Saratoga. The Americans, in the mean time, possessed themselves of fort Edward, and a detachment of five hundred men, under colonel Brown, surprised all the outposts of the enemy, from the north end of lake George to the body of the fortress at Ticonderoga.

SEC. XVII. After several ineffectual attempts to retreat, general Burgoyne found himself completely surrounded, without a possibility of es-

caping. In this extremity, he entered into a convention with general Gates, and, on the 17th of October, the royal army, amounting to above 5700 men, were surrendered prisoners of war. Soon after the surrender of Burgoyne, the garrison at Ticonderoga abandoned the fortress, and returned to Canada.

The capture of an entire army was justly viewed as an event that must essentially affect the contest between Britain and America, and was received by the people with the highest demonstrations of joy. The intelligence of this event, probably, gave a favorable issue to the negotiations then carried on with the French court, and which resulted, the following year, in obtaining from that government powerful aid in the prosecution of the war.

"Among the romantic incidents of real life, few surpass the adventures of the baroness de Reidesel and lady Harriet Ackland—two ladies who had followed the fortunes of their husbands, the baron de Reidesel and major Ackland, officers in the army of general Burgoyne, the latter of whom was wounded in the battle of the 9th of October.

"'On the 7th of October,' says the baroness de Reidesel, 'our misfortunes began. I was at breakfast with my husband, and heard that something was intended. On the same day, I expected generals Burgoyne, Phillips and Fraser, to dine with us. I saw a great movement among the troops: my husband told me it was merely a reconnaissance, which gave me no concern, as it often happened. I walked out of the house, and met several Indians in their war-dresses, with guns in their hands. When I asked where they were going, they cried out, 'War! war!' meaning that they were going to battle. This filled me with apprehension; and I had scarcely got home, before I heard the reports of cannon and musketry, which grew louder by degrees, till at last the noise became excessive.'

"'About four o'clock in the afternoon, instead of the guests whom I expected, general Fraser was brought on a litter, mortally wounded. The table, which was already set,

was removed, and a bed placed in its stead, for the wounded general. I sat trembling in a corner; the noise grew louder, and the alarm increased; the thought that my husband might be brought in wounded, in the same manner, was terrible to me, and distressed me exceedingly. General Fraser said to the surgeon, 'Tell me if my wound is mortal; do not flatter me.' The ball had passed through his body, and, unhappily for the general, he had eaten a very hearty breakfast, by which the stomach was distended, and the ball, as the surgeon said, had passed through it.

" 'I heard him often exclaim, with a sigh, 'Oh fatal ambition! Poor General Burgoyne! Oh my poor wife!' He was asked if he had any request to make; to which he replied: 'If general Burgoyne would permit it, he should like to be buried at six o'clock in the evening, on the top of a mountain, in a redoubt which had been built there.' I did not know which way to turn; all the other rooms were full of sick. Towards evening, I saw my husband coming; then I forgot all my sorrows, and thanked God that he was spared to me. He and his aid-de camp ate, in great haste, with me, behind the house. We had been told, that we had the advantage of the enemy; but the sorrowful faces I beheld told a different tale; and, before my husband went away, he took me one side, and said every thing was going very bad; that I must keep myself in readiness to leave the place, but not to mention it to any one. I made the pretence that I would move, the next morning, into my new house, and had every thing packed up ready.

" 'Lady H. Ackland had a tent, not far from our house, in which she slept; and the rest of the day she was in the camp. All of a sudden, a man came to tell her, that her husband was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. On hearing this, she became very miserable. We comforted her, by telling her, that the wound was only slight, and, at the same time, advised her to go over to her husband, to do which she would certainly obtain permission, and then she could attend him herself. She was a charming woman, and very fond of him. I spent much of the night in comforting her, and then went again to my children, whom I had put to bed. I could not go to sleep, as

I had general Fraser, and all the other wounded gentlemen, in my room; and I was sadly afraid my children would awake, and, by their crying, disturb the dying man in his last moments, who often addressed me, and apologized 'for the trouble he gave me.'

" 'About three o'clock in the morning, I was told that he could not hold out much longer. I had desired to be informed of the near approach of this sad crisis, and I then wrapped up my children in their clothes, and went with them into the room below.—About eight o'clock in the morning, he died. After he was laid out, and his corpse wrapped up in a sheet, we came again into the room, and had this sorrowful sight before us the whole day; and, to add to the melancholy scene, almost every moment, some officer of my acquaintance was brought in wounded. The cannonade commenced again; a retreat was spoken of, but not the smallest motion was made towards it. About four o'clock in the afternoon, I saw the house, which had just been built for me, in flames, and the enemy was not far off. We knew that general Burgoyne would not refuse the last request of general Fraser, though, by his acceding to it, an unnecessary delay was occasioned, by which the inconvenience of the army was increased.

" 'At six o'clock, the corpse was brought out, and we saw all the generals attend it to the mountain: the chaplain, Mr. Brudenell, performed the funeral service, rendered unusually solemn and awful, from its being accompanied by constant peals from the enemy's artillery. Many cannon balls flew close by me; but I had my eyes directed towards the mountain, where my husband was standing, amidst the fire of the enemy, and, of course, I could not think of my own danger.

" 'General Gates afterwards said, that, if he had known it had been a funeral, he would not have permitted it to be fired on.

" 'As soon as the funeral service was finished, and the grave of general Fraser was closed, an order was issued that the army should retreat. My calash was prepared; but I would not consent to go before the troops. Major Harnange, although suffering from his wounds, crept from his bed, as he

did not wish to remain in the hospital, which was left with a flag of truce. When general Reidesel saw me in the midst of danger, he ordered my women and children to be brought into the calash, and intimated to me to depart without delay. I still prayed to remain; but my husband, knowing my weak side, said, 'Well, then, your children must go, that, at least, they may be safe from danger.' I then agreed to enter the calash with them, and we set off at eight o'clock. The retreat was ordered to be conducted with the greatest silence. Many fires were lighted, and several tents left standing. We travelled continually during the night.

" 'At six o'clock in the morning, we halted, which excited the surprise of all. General Burgoyne had the cannon ranged and prepared for battle. This delay seemed to displease every body; for, if we could only have made another good march, we should have been in safety. My husband, quite exhausted with fatigue, came into my calash, and slept for three hours. During that time, captain Wilde brought me a bag full of bank notes, and captain Geisman his elegant watch, a ring, and a purse full of money, which they requested me to take care of, and which I promised to do to the utmost of my power. We again marched, but had scarcely proceeded an hour before we halted, as the enemy was in sight. It proved to be only a reconnoitring party of 200 men, who might easily have been made prisoners, if general Burgoyne had given proper orders on the occasion.

" 'About evening, we arrived at Saratoga. My dress was wet through and through with rain, and in that state I had to remain the whole night, having no place to change it. I, however, got close to a large fire, and, at last, lay down on some straw. At this moment, general Phillips came up to me, and I asked him why we had not continued our retreat, as my husband had promised to cover it, and bring the army through? 'Poor dear woman,' said he, 'I wonder how, drenched as you are, you have still the courage to persevere, and venture further in this kind of weather. I wish,' continued he, 'you were our commanding general. General Burgoyne is tired, and means to halt here to-night, and give us our supper.'

“ ‘ On the morning of the ninth, at 10 o’clock, general Burgoyne ordered the retreat to be continued, and caused the handsome houses and mills of general Schuyler to be burnt. We marched, however, but a short distance, and then halted. The greatest misery at this time prevailed in the army, and more than 30 officers came to me, for whom tea and coffee were prepared, and with whom I shared all my provisions, with which my calash was in general well supplied; for I had a cook who was an excellent caterer, and who often, in the night, crossed small rivers, and foraged on the inhabitants, bringing in with him sheep, small pigs and poultry, for which he often forgot to pay, though he received good pay from me, as long as I had any; and he was, ultimately, handsomely rewarded. Our provisions now failed us, for want of proper conduct in the commissary’s department, and I began to despair.

“ ‘ About two o’clock in the afternoon, we again heard a firing of cannon and small arms. Instantly all was in alarm, and every thing in motion. My husband told me to go to a house not far off. I immediately seated myself in my calash, with my children, and drove off; but scarcely had we reached it, before I discovered five or six armed men, on the other side of the Hudson. Instinctively I threw my children down in the calash, and concealed myself with them. At that moment the fellows fired, and wounded an already wounded English soldier, who was behind me. Poor fellow! I pitied him exceedingly, but, at that moment, had no power or means to relieve him. A terrible cannonade was commenced by the enemy, which was directed against the house in which I sought to obtain shelter for myself and children, under the mistaken idea that all the generals were in it. Alas! it contained none but wounded and women. We were at last obliged to resort to the cellar for refuge, and in one corner of this I remained the whole day, my children sleeping on the earth, with their heads in my lap; and in the same situation I passed a sleepless night. Eleven cannon balls passed through the house, and we could distinctly hear them roll away. One poor soldier, who was lying on a table, for the purpose of having his leg amputated, was struck by a shot, which carried

away his other leg. His comrades had left him, and, when we went to his assistance, we found him in a corner of the room, into which he had crept, more dead than alive, scarcely breathing. My reflections on the danger to which my husband was exposed now agonized me exceedingly, and the thoughts of my children, and the necessity of struggling for their preservation, alone sustained me.

“ ‘I now occupied myself through the day in attending to the wounded ; I made them tea and coffee, and often shared my dinner with them, for which they offered me a thousand expressions of gratitude. One day, a Canadian officer came to our cellar, who had hardly the power of holding himself upright, and we concluded he was dying for want of nourishment. I was happy in offering him my dinner, which strengthened him, and procured me his friendship. I now undertook the care of major Bloomfield, another aid-de-camp of general Phillips, who had received a musket ball through both cheeks, which, in its course, had knocked out several of his teeth, and cut his tongue. He could hold nothing in his mouth ; the matter which ran from his wound almost choked him, and he was not able to take any nourishment, except a little soup, or something liquid. We had some Rhenish wine ; and, in the hope that the acidity of it would cleanse the wound, I gave him a bottle of it : he took a little now and then, and with such effect, that his cure soon followed ; and thus I added another to my stock of friends, and derived a satisfaction, which, in the midst of sufferings, served to tranquillize me, and diminish their acuteness.

“ ‘One day, general Phillips accompanied my husband, at the risk of their lives, on a visit to us, who, after having witnessed our situation, said to him, ‘I would not, for ten thousand guineas, come again to this place ; my heart is almost broken.’

“ ‘In this horrid situation we remained six days. A cessation of hostilities was now spoken of, and eventually took place : a convention was afterwards agreed upon ; but one day a message was sent to my husband, who had visited me, and was reposing in my bed, to attend a council of war, where it was proposed to break the convention ; but, to my great joy,

the majority were for adhering to it. On the 16th, however, my husband had to repair to his post, and I to my cellar. This day fresh beef was served out to the officers, who, until now, had only had salt provisions, which was very bad for their wounds.

“ ‘On the 17th of October, the convention was completed. General Burgoyne and the other generals waited on general Gates, the American commander. The troops laid down their arms, and gave themselves up prisoners of war ; and now the good woman, who had supplied us with water, at the hazard of her life, received the reward of her services ; each of us threw a handful of money into her apron, and she got altogether about 20 guineas. At such a moment as this, how susceptible is the heart of feelings of gratitude !

“ ‘ My husband sent a message to me, to come over to him with my children. I seated myself once more in my dear calash, and then rode through the American camp. As I passed on, I observed (and this was a great consolation to me) that no one eyed me with looks of resentment, but that they all greeted us, and even showed compassion in their countenances, at the sight of a woman with small children. I was, I confess, afraid to go over to the enemy, as it was quite a new situation to me. When I drew near the tents, a handsome man approached and met me, took my children from the calash, and hugged and kissed them, which affected me almost to tears. ‘ You tremble,’ said he, addressing himself to me ; ‘ be not afraid.’ ‘ No,’ I answered, ‘ you seem so kind and tender to my children, it inspires me with courage.’ He now led me to the tent of general Gates, where I found generals Burgoyne and Phillips, who were on a friendly footing with the former. Burgoyne said to me, ‘ Never mind ; your sorrows have now an end.’ I answered him, that I should be reprehensible to have any cares, as he had none, and I was pleased to see him on such a friendly footing with general Gates. All the generals remained to dine with general Gates.

“ ‘ The same gentleman, who received me so kindly, now came and said to me, ‘ You will be very much embarrassed to eat with all these gentlemen ; come with your children to my tent ; there I will prepare for you a frugal dinner, and give it

with a free will.' I said, ' You are certainly a husband and a father, you have shown me so much kindness.' I now found that he was general Schuyler! He treated me with excellent smoked tongue, beef steaks, potatoes, and good bread and butter. Never could I have wished to eat a better dinner. I was content. I saw all around me were so likewise; and, what was better than all, my husband was out of danger.

" ' When we had dined, he told me his residence was at Albany, and that general Burgoyne intended to honor him as his guest, and invited myself and children to do likewise. I asked my husband how I should act; he told me to accept the invitation. As it was two days' journey there, he advised me to go to a place which was about three hours' ride distant. General Schuyler had the politeness to send with me a French officer, a very agreeable man, who commanded the reconnoitring party of which I have before spoken; and when he had escorted me to the house, where I was to remain, he turned back again. In the house I found a French-surgeon, who had under his care a Brunswick officer, who was mortally wounded, and died some days afterwards.

" ' The Frenchman boasted much of the care he took of his patient, and perhaps was skilful enough as a surgeon, but otherwise was a mere simpleton. He was rejoiced when he found I could speak his language, and he began to address many empty and impertinent speeches to me: he said, among other things, he could not believe that I was a general's wife, as he was certain a woman of such rank would not follow her husband. He wished me to remain with him, as he said it was better to be with the conquerors than the conquered. I was shocked at his impudence, but dared not show the contempt I felt for him, because it would deprive me of a place of safety. Towards evening he begged me to take a part of his chamber. I told him I was determined to remain in the room with the wounded officers; whereupon he attempted to pay me some stupid compliments. At this moment the door opened, and my husband, with his aid-de-camp, entered. I then said, ' Here, sir, is my husband;' and, at the same time, eyed him with scorn, whereupon he retired abashed; nevertheless he was so polite as to offer his chamber to us.

“ ‘ Some days after this we arrived at Albany, where we so often wished ourselves ; but we did not enter it as we expected we should, victors ! We were received by the good general Schuyler, his wife and daughters, not as enemies, but kind friends ; and they treated us with the most marked attention and politeness, as they did general Burgoyne, who had caused general Schuyler’s beautifully finished house to be burnt. In fact, they behaved like persons of exalted minds, who determined to bury all recollection of their own injuries in the contemplation of our misfortunes. General Burgoyne was struck with general Schuyler’s generosity, and said to him, ‘ You show me great kindness, although I have done you much injury.’ ‘ That was the fate of war,’ replied the brave man ; ‘ let us say no more about it.’ ”*

“ The fortunes of lady Harriet Ackland were not less interesting than those of the baroness de Reidesel, just recited. ‘ This lady,’ says general Burgoyne in his ‘ State of the Expedition from Canada,’ ‘ had accompanied her husband to Canada, in the beginning of the year 1776. In the course of that campaign, she traversed a vast space of country, in different extremities of the season, and with difficulties of which a European traveller cannot easily conceive.’

In the opening of the campaign, in 1777, she was restrained from offering herself to a share of the fatigue and hazard expected before Ticonderoga, by the positive injunctions of her husband. The day after the conquest of the place, he was badly wounded, and she crossed lake Champlain to join him.

As soon as he recovered, lady Harriet proceeded to follow his fortunes through the campaign ; and, at fort Edward or at the next camp, she acquired a two-wheel tumbril, which had been constructed by the artificers of the artillery, something similar to the carriage used for the mail, upon the great roads in England. Major Ackland commanded the British grenadiers, which were attached to general Fraser’s corps, and, consequently, were always the most advanced part of the army. They were often so much on the alert, that no person slept out of his clothes. One of their temporary encamp-

* Wilkinson’s Memoirs, from the Memoirs of the Baroness de Reidesel.

ments, a tent in which the major and lady Harriet were asleep, suddenly took fire. An orderly-sergeant of grenadiers, with great hazard of suffocation, dragged out the first person he caught hold of. It proved to be the major. It happened that, in the same instant, she had, unknowing what she did, and perhaps not perfectly awaked, providentially made her escape, by creeping under the walls of the tent. The first object she saw, upon the recovery of her senses, was the major on the other side, and, in the same instant, again in the fire in search of her. The sergeant again saved him, but not without the major's being very severely burnt in his face, and different parts of his body. Every thing they had with them in the tent was consumed.

This accident happened a little time before the army crossed the Hudson, 13th September. It neither altered the resolution nor cheerfulness of lady Harriet; and she continued her progress, a partaker of the fatigues of the advanced corps. The next call upon her fortitude was of a different nature, and more distressing, as of longer suspense. On the morning of the 19th of September, the grenadiers being liable to action at every step, she had been directed by the major to follow the route of the artillery and baggage, which were not exposed. At the time the action began, she found herself near an uninhabited hut, where she alighted. When it was found the action was becoming general, the surgeon of the hospital took possession of the same place, as the most convenient for the first care of the wounded. Thus was this lady in the hearing of one continued fire of cannon and musketry for four hours together, with the presumption, from the post of her husband, at the head of the grenadiers, that he was in the most exposed part of the action. She had three female companions, the baroness de Reidesel, and the wives of two British officers, major Harnage, and lieutenant Reynell; but, in the event, their presence served but little for comfort. Major Harnage was soon brought to the surgeon very badly wounded, and a little time after came intelligence that lieutenant Reynell was shot dead. Imagination will want no help to figure the state of the whole group.

From the date of that action to the 7th of October, lady

Harriet, with her usual serenity, stood prepared for new trials; and it was her lot that their severity increased with their number. She was again exposed to the hearing of the whole action, and, at last, received the word of her individual misfortune, mixed with the intelligence of the general calamity; the troops were defeated, and major Ackland, desperately wounded, was a prisoner.

The day of the 8th was passed, by lady Harriet and her companions, in uncommon anxiety; not a tent nor a shed being standing, except what belonged to the hospital, their refuge was among the wounded and the dying.

“ When the army was upon the point of moving, I received a message from lady Harriet, submitting to my decision a proposal, and expressing an earnest solicitude to execute it, if not interfering with my design, of passing to the camp of the enemy, and requesting general Gates’ permission to attend her husband.

“ Though I was ready to believe, for I had experienced, that patience and fortitude, in a supreme degree, were to be found, as well as every other virtue, under the most tender forms, I was astonished at the proposal. After so long an agitation, exhausted not only for want of rest, but absolutely want of food, drenched in rain for 12 hours together, that a woman should be capable of such an undertaking as delivering herself to the enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands she might first fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The assurance I was enabled to give was small indeed. I had not even a cup of wine to offer; but I was told she found, from some kind and fortunate hand, a little rum and dirty water. All I could furnish to her was an open boat, and a few lines, written upon dirty and wet paper, to general Gates, recommending her to his protection.” This letter was as follows:—

SIR,—Lady Harriet Ackland, a lady of the first distinction by family, rank and personal virtues, is under such concern on account of major Ackland, her husband, wounded and a prisoner in your hands, that I cannot refuse her request to commit her to your protection.

Whatever general impropriety there may be, in persons acting in your situation and mine, to solicit favors, I cannot see the uncommon pre-eminence in every female grace and exaltation of character in this lady, and her very hard fortune, without testifying that your attentions to her will lay me under obligations.

I am, sir,

Oct. 9, 1777.

M. G. GATES.

Your obedient servant,

J. BURGOYNE.

With this letter did this woman, who was of the most tender and delicate frame, habituated to all the soft elegancies and refined enjoyments, that attend high birth and fortune, and far advanced in a state in which the tenderest cares, always due to the sex, become indispensably necessary, in an open boat, leave the camp of Burgoyne, with a flag of truce, for that of the enemy. The night was advanced before the boat reached the shore. Lady Harriet was immediately conveyed into the apartment of major Henry Dearborn, since major-general, who commanded the guard at that place; and every attention was paid her which her rank and situation demanded, and which circumstances permitted. Early in the morning, she was permitted to proceed in the boat to the camp, where general Gates, whose gallantry will not be denied, stood ready to receive her, with due respect and courtesy. Having ascertained that major Ackland had set out for Albany, lady Harriet proceeded, by permission, to join him. Some time after, major Ackland effected his exchange, and returned to England. The catastrophe of this tale is affecting. Ackland, after his return to England, procured a regiment, and at a dinner of military men, where the courage of the Americans was made a question, took the negative side with his usual decision. He was opposed, warmth ensued, and he gave the lie direct to a lieutenant Lloyd, fought him, and was shot through the head. Lady Harriet lost her senses, and continued deranged two years; after which she married Mr. Brudenell, who accompanied her from general Burgoyne's camp, when she sought her wounded husband on Hudson river.

SEC. XVIII. During the operations at Saratoga

toga, sir Henry Clinton, with 3000 men, convoyed by several ships of war, proceeded up the Hudson, with the view of effecting a diversion in favor of Burgoyne. On the 6th of October, he made an attack upon forts Montgomery and Clinton. The attack was obstinately resisted during the day; but, on the following evening, the works were carried at the point of the bayonet. Most of the garrison escaped.

Forts Independence and Constitution were, the next day, evacuated, and general Putnam, who had the command on the Hudson, retreated to Fishkill. General Tryon, the day following, burned Continental Village, where considerable stores were deposited. General Vaughan, with a strong detachment, proceeding up the river, devastated the settlements along its banks, burned the village of Kingston, and then embarked for New York.

Misfortune still continued to attend the operations of the southern department of the army. The Americans were defeated at Brandywine, on the 11th of September, and Philadelphia fell into the hands of the British. On the 4th of October, Washington attacked a body of the British troops at Germantown, but was repulsed with a loss of double that of the enemy.

SEC. XIX. On the 9th of September, the first legislature under the new constitution assembled at Kingston, and proceeded to organize the government. After making some arrangements for the defence of the country, and appointing delegates to the general congress, they adjourned on the 7th of October, having

received intelligence of the approach of the enemy.

The members present, at the opening of the first session of the senate, at Kingston, were Pierre Van Cortlandt, John Morris Scott, Philip Livingston, Abraham Yates, jr., William Floyd, William Smith, Alexander Webster, Dirick W. Ten Broeck, Levi Pawling, Jesse Woodhull, Zephaniah Platt, Jonathan Loudon and Arthur Parks. Pierre Van Cortlandt, esq. was elected president. The delegates appointed to the general congress were Philip Livingston, James Duane, Francis Lewis, William Duer and Gouverneur Morris.

The time appointed for this session to commence was the first of September; but, on account of the disturbances occasioned by the military operations in the country, a number sufficient to transact business did not assemble until the ninth. During their deliberations, members were frequently called off to assist the military in defending the country, or attend to removing their families from the scene of action.

CHAP. XIII.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR CONTINUED TO ITS TERMINATION.

Legislative Proceedings. Revival of Controversy relative to the Grants. Treaty of Alliance with France. British Army concentrated at New York. French Fleet arrives. Campaign of 1779. Operations at Stoney Point and Verplanck's. Expedition against the Indians. Campaign of 1780. Depredations of the royal Army. Arnold's Treachery. Campaign of 1781. Capture of Cornwallis. Independence acknowledged. British evacuate New York, and the Americans take Possession. Army disbanded.

SEC. I. 1778. The legislature was assembled at Poughkeepsie, by proclamation of the governor, on the 15th of January, and the "articles of confederation and perpetual union between the United States of America," which had been drawn up by congress the preceding year, presented for their consideration. An act was passed, by which these articles were unanimously approved, and the delegates from the state of New York authorized to ratify the same. They then proceeded to make provision for the better organization of the militia for the defence of the country, and to enact such laws as the general or local interests of the community were supposed to require.

The termination of hostilities in the northern part of the state was attended by a revival of the controversy relative to the New Hampshire grants. Delegates from the inhabitants of the grants, having assembled at Westminster in January, 1777, passed a resolution absolving all allegiance to the government of New York, and declaring that district an independent state, to be distinguished by the name of Vermont.

They then enclosed a copy of the declaration to congress, with a petition that it might be received, that the district therein described might be ranked among the free and independent American states, and their delegates be admitted to a seat in congress.

Application was also made, by the New York committee of safety, to congress, stating that, by the influence of certain designing men, a part of the state had been prevailed on to revolt, and disavow the authority of its legislature, and requesting that body to discountenance these disorderly proceedings. In another communication to congress, March 1st, they represent, "that they depend upon the justice of that honorable house, to adopt every wise and salutary expedient, to suppress the mischiefs that must ensue to that state, and to the general confederacy, from the unjust and pernicious projects of such of the inhabitants of New York, as, merely from selfish and interested motives, have fomented this dangerous insurrection.

Congress proceeded to act on these communications in June, and, after several adjournments, passed resolutions, disapproving of the proceedings of the inhabitants of the grants; and their petition to be received as an independent state, and their delegates admitted to a seat in congress, was dismissed. The inhabitants of the grants, however, still persisted in their opposition to the government of New York, and proceeded to draw up a constitution for the new state, and to establish a regular form of government.

SEC. II. The success which had attended the Americans in the campaign of the preceding year placed them on higher ground, and opened new resources to their view. The capture of Burgoyne laid the foundation for the acknowledgment of their independence abroad, and for acquiring the assistance of foreign nations.

On the 6th of February, a treaty of commerce and alliance was concluded between the commissioners of the United States and Louis XVI. of France. The arrival of a French fleet, early in July, with supplies of men and military stores, to cooperate against the enemy, gave powerful aid to the American cause.

The commissioners in behalf of the United States had been, for more than a year, residing at Paris, to accomplish this important object. During this period, their prospects of success had constantly varied, according to the aspect of American affairs. The result of the American struggle was yet too doubtful for that country to embroil herself in war with Great Britain. The capture of the British army at Saratoga gave indications of the ultimate triumph of the American arms, and decided the wavering policy of the French court.

In the treaty of alliance it was declared, "that if war should break out between France and England during the existence of that with the United States, it should be made a common cause, and that neither of the contracting parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and they mutually engaged not to lay down their arms until the independence of the United States shall have been formally, or tacitly, assured by the treaty or treaties, that should terminate the war."

SEC. III. On receiving intelligence of the alliance of America with France, the British

evacuated Philadelphia, and concentrated the royal army at New York. The Americans encamped at White Plains, where they remained till late in autumn. The operations of the war in this quarter, the present year, were not attended with any important achievements.

Upon the termination of the campaign of 1777, the British army had retired to winter quarters at Philadelphia, and the Americans at Valley Forge. On the 18th of June, the royal army crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, and continued their retreat towards New York. They were attacked by general Washington, at Monmouth, on the 28th, and a severe engagement ensued, in which the Americans obtained the advantage. Night only separated the two armies, and general Washington resolved, the next day, to renew the attack. About midnight, the British general drew off his troops with such perfect silence, that their escape was not discovered until morning, when the Americans declined the pursuit. The British made good their retreat to New York, and the Americans withdrew towards the Hudson.

The French fleet, consisting of 12 ships of the line, and 6 frigates, commanded by count D'Estaing, arrived off Newport, the 1st of July, to act in concert with the Americans in an attempt on Rhode Island. Lord Howe, at the same time, arrived with his fleet from New York; and, instead of cooperating with the Americans, D'Estaing went out to give him battle. A storm separated the fleets, and D'Estaing sailed for Boston to repair his vessels. Some skirmishing took place between the Americans and the British, but nothing decisive was effected. The siege of Newport was soon after raised, and the Americans retired.

On the 28th of August, the British army made an excursion up the Hudson, moving in strong force on each side of the river. Receiving intelligence, that colonel Baylor, with a regiment of American cavalry, had taken quarters at Tappan, they devised a plan for cutting them off. A party, detached for this purpose under the command of general Gray, com-

pletely surprised the whole regiment, as they lay asleep. Out of 104 privates, 67 were killed, wounded and taken prisoners.

The attempts of the British had, thus far, been directed chiefly against the Northern States. They now formed the plan of invading the Southern States, and that quarter became the principal theatre of their offensive operations. In November, sir Henry Clinton sent a squadron, with about 2000 men, to Georgia. After an engagement, in which the British were victorious, Savannah, the capital, and with it the state of Georgia itself, fell into the hands of the enemy.

SEC. IV. 1779. In the campaign of the present year, nothing decisive was effected. The British attempted no enterprise of any importance, and appear to have aimed at little more than to plunder and devastate the unprotected sections of the country. In these predatory incursions, many acts of cruelty were committed upon the inhabitants, and an immense amount of public and private property destroyed. While the enemy were committing these depredations, the main body of the American army was concentrated near West Point, for the protection of that important fortress.

In May, a naval and land force, commanded by sir George Collier and general Matthews, made a descent upon Virginia, and made extensive depredations in the vicinity of Norfolk. A similar force was sent, under governor Tryon, to ravage the sea-board of Connecticut. New Haven was plundered; East Haven, Fairfield, Norwalk and Green Farms were wantonly destroyed. At New Haven, an aged citizen, who labored under a natural inability to speak, had his tongue cut out by one of the royal army. Women were insulted, abused and threatened, while their apparel was taken from them. Even an infant was robbed of its clothing, while a bayonet was pointed at the breast of its mother.

SEC. V. In the spring of the present year, the Americans had commenced the construction of strong works at Verplanck's Neck and Stoney Point, situated on nearly opposite points of land, the first on the east, the other on the west side of the Hudson. These positions being of great importance to the Americans, in keeping open an easy communication between the Northern and Southern States, general Clinton resolved upon their seizure, which he successfully executed on the 30th of May.

Commodore Collier conducted the squadron that ascended the river, general Vaughan the column of the right, which landed on the eastern bank, a little below Verplanck's, and Clinton, in person, the column of the left, which he disembarked on the western bank below Stoney Point. The Americans, finding the enemy so near, and not being prepared to receive him, evacuated Stoney Point, where they were soon replaced by the royal troops.

At Verplanck's the Americans resolved to resist, and had erected on this point a small, but strong and complete work, fort la Fayette, which was defended by artillery and a small garrison. It was, however, unfortunately commanded by the heights of Stoney Point, upon which the English, by their exertions during the night, had planted a battery of heavy cannon, and another of mortars. Early on the following morning, they opened a tempest of fire upon fort la Fayette. The attack was supported in front by commodore Collier, who advanced with his galleys and gun-boats within reach of the fort; and general Vaughan, having made a circuit through the hills, at length arrived, and closely invested it on the land side. The garrison, seeing all possibility of relief now cut off, and their fire totally overwhelmed and lost in the magnitude of that which they received, surrendered at discretion on the following morning. General Clinton gave directions for completing the works at Stoney Point, and, to cover these

operations, encamped his army at Philipsburgh, about half way between Verplanck's and New York.*

SEC. VI. When it was ascertained, that the British had put the posts at Verplanck's and Stoney Point in the highest state of defence, general Washington formed the design of recovering them from the possession of the enemy. Stoney Point, now plentifully supplied with all the munitions of war, and garrisoned by about 600 men, was carried by direct assault on the 16th of July. The reduction of this fortress was one of the most bold and daring enterprises which occurred during the war.

General Washington resolved to attempt the surprise of Stoney Point by attacking the works on the right and left flanks at the same instant, and intrusted the execution of this plan to general Wayne. The troops destined for this enterprise were assembled on the 15th at Sandy Beach, 14 miles from Stoney Point. They moved off at noon, and, having accomplished their march over high mountains, through deep morasses, difficult defiles, and roads extremely bad and narrow, arrived, about eight o'clock in the evening, within a mile of the enemy.

General Wayne then halted to reconnoitre the works, and observe the state of the garrison. The English, however, did not perceive him. He formed his corps in two columns, and put himself at the head of the right. It was preceded by a vanguard of 159 picked men, commanded by a brave and adventurous Frenchman, lieutenant-colonel Fleury. This vanguard was guided by a forlorn hope of about 20, led by lieutenant Gibbon. The column on the left, conducted by major Stewart, had a similar vanguard, also preceded by a forlorn hope under lieutenant Knox. These forlorn hopes, among other offices, were particularly intended to remove the abattis and other obstructions, which lay in the way of the

* Botta.

succeeding troops. General Wayne directed both columns to march in order and silence, with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets.

At midnight, they arrived under the walls of the fort. The two columns attacked upon the flanks, while major Murfee engaged the attention of the garrison by a feint in front. An unexpected obstacle presented itself; the deep morass which covered the works was, at this time, overflowed by the tide. The English opened a most tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape shot; but neither the inundated morass, nor a double palisade, nor the bastioned ramparts, nor the storm of fire that was poured from them, could arrest the impetuosity of the Americans; they opened their way with the bayonet, prostrated whatever opposed them, scaled the fort, and the two columns met in the centre of the works.

General Wayne received a contusion in the head, by a musket ball, as he passed the last abattis. Colonel Fleury struck with his own hand the royal standard that waved upon the walls. Of the forlorn hope of Gibbon, 17 out of 20 perished in the attack. The English lost upwards of 600 men in killed and prisoners. The Americans abstained from pillage and all disorder; a conduct the more worthy to be commended, as they had still fresh in mind the ravages and butcheries, which the enemy had so recently committed in Connecticut and Virginia. Humanity imparted new effulgence to the victory which valor had obtained.*

The enterprise against Verplanck's was intrusted to general Howe, and miscarried for the want of artillery, and implements for the construction of bridges, by which only the place was approachable. Intelligence was, in the mean time, received of the approach of a large body of the enemy, and the Americans, not deeming it safe to hazard a battle, after bringing off the artillery and stores of the fort at Stoney Point, with the garrison, dismantled the fortifications, and retired.

SEC. VII. The Americans were imbodied by the success of the enterprise against Stoney

* Botta

Point, and continued frequently to harass the outposts of the royal army. Major Lee, on the 19th of July, completely surprised the British garrison at Paulus Hook. He attacked the place with a detachment of about 300, and, with the loss of only two men, brought off 159 prisoners.

SEC. VIII. At an early period of the war, exertions were made by the Americans to prevent the Indians from engaging in the contest. For this purpose, commissioners were appointed to hold a conference with the Six Nations, and other northern tribes. In July, 1775, a treaty was concluded by general Schuyler, on the part of congress, with the Six Nations, in which they engaged to observe a strict neutrality between the contending parties. They were, however, afterwards induced, by the solicitations and presents of the enemy, to take up the tomahawk on the side of the British, and the frontiers were again exposed to all the depredations and horrors incident to Indian warfare.

In the campaign of 1778, the savages took a very active part. In July, a large body of Indians and tories made an irruption into Wyoming, situated on both sides of the Susquehannah, in the northern part of Pennsylvania. This flourishing settlement was utterly destroyed, and its destruction attended by circumstances of horrible cruelty and devastation. The district contained 1100 families, and furnished 1000 soldiers for the continental army, besides garrisons for its own forts. While a large proportion of the inhabitants were devotedly attached to the American cause, a considerable number still adhered to the British. Some of the tories, having experienced severity, in consequence of their attempts

to promote the royal cause, were induced to take refuge among the Indians, or at the British posts. They were followed by others, who had been expelled from the colony. As their numbers increased, their hatred became continually more and more rancorous. The tories swore revenge; they coalesced with the Indians. The time was favorable, as the youth of Wyoming were in the army. In order the better to secure success, and to surprise their enemies before they should think of standing upon their defence, they resorted to artifice. They pretended the most friendly dispositions, while they meditated only war and vengeance.

A few weeks before they purposed to execute their horrible enterprise, they sent several messengers, charged with protestations of their earnest desire to cultivate peace. These perfidies lulled the inhabitants of Wyoming into a deceitful security, while they procured the tories and savages the means of concerting with their partisans, and of observing the immediate state of the colony. Notwithstanding the solemn assurances of the Indians, the colonists, as it often happens when great calamities are about to fall on a people, seemed to have a sort of presentiment of their approaching fate. They wrote to Washington, praying him to send them immediate assistance. Their despatches did not reach him; they were intercepted by the Pennsylvanian loyalists; and they would, besides, have arrived too late. The savages had already made their appearance upon the frontiers of the colony; the plunder they had made there was of little importance, but the cruelties they had perpetrated were affrightful; the mournful prelude of those more terrible scenes which were shortly to follow.

About the commencement of the month of July, the Indians suddenly appeared in force upon the banks of the Susquehannah. They were headed by John Butler and colonel Brandt, a half blood, with other chiefs distinguished by their extreme ferocity in the preceding expeditions. This troop amounted in all to 1600 men, of whom less than a fourth were Indians, and the rest tories, disguised and painted to resemble them. The officers, however, wore the uniforms of their rank, and had the appearance of regulars. The colonists

of Wyoming, finding their friends so remote, and their enemies so near, had constructed, for their security, four forts, in which, and upon different points of the frontier, they had distributed about 500 men. The whole colony was placed under the command of Zebulon Butler, cousin of John, a man who, with some courage, was totally devoid of capacity. He was even accused of treachery; but this imputation is not proved. It is at least certain, that one of the forts, which stood nearest to the frontiers, was intrusted to soldiers infected with the opinions of the tories, and who gave it up, without resistance, at the first approach of the enemy. The second, on being vigorously assaulted, surrendered at discretion. The savages spared, it is true, the women and children, but butchered all the rest without exception. Zebulon then withdrew, with all his people, into the principal fort, called *Kingston*. The old men, the women, the children, the sick, in a word, all that were unable to bear arms, repaired thither in throngs, and uttering lamentable cries, as to the last refuge where any hope of safety remained. The position was susceptible of defence; and, if Zebulon had held firm, he might have hoped to withstand the enemy until the arrival of succors. But John Butler was lavish of promises in order to draw him out, in which he succeeded, by persuading him that, if he would consent to a parley in the open field, the siege would soon be raised, and every thing accommodated. John retired, in fact, with all his corps; Zebulon afterwards marched out to the place appointed for the conference, at a considerable distance from the fort: from motives of caution, he took with him 400 men well armed, being nearly the whole strength of his garrison. If this step was not dictated by treachery, it must, at least, be attributed to a very strange simplicity. Having come to the spot agreed on, Zebulon found no living being there. Reluctant to return without an interview, he advanced towards the foot of a mountain, at a still greater distance from the fort, hoping he might there find some person to confer with. The farther he proceeded in this dismal solitude, the more he had occasion to remark that no token appeared of the presence or vicinity of human creatures. But, far from halting, as if impelled by an irresistible destiny, he continued his

march. The country, meanwhile, began to be overshadowed by thick forests: at length, in a winding path, he perceived a flag, which seemed to wave him on. The individual who bore it, as if afraid of treachery from his side, retired as he advanced, still making the same signals. But already the Indians, who knew the country, profiting by the obscurity of the woods, had completely surrounded him. The unfortunate American, without suspicion of the peril he was in, continued to press forward, in order to assure the traitors that he would not betray them. He was awakened but too soon from this dream of security: in an instant the savages sprung from their ambush, and fell upon him with hideous yells.

He formed his little troop into a compact column, and showed more presence of mind in danger than he had manifested in the negotiations. Though surprised, the Americans exhibited such vigor and resolution that the advantage was rather on their side; when a soldier, either through treachery or cowardice, cried out aloud, "The colonel has ordered a retreat." The Americans immediately break, the savages leap in among the ranks, and a horrible carnage ensues. The fugitives fall by missiles, the resisting by clubs and tomahawks. The wounded overturn those that are not, the dead and the dying are heaped together promiscuously. Happy those who expire the soonest! The savages reserve the living for tortures! and the infuriate tories, if other arms fail them, mangle the prisoners with their nails! Never was rout so deplorable; never was massacre accompanied with so many horrors. Nearly all the Americans perished; about 60 escaped from the butchery, and, with Zebulon, made their way good to a redoubt upon the other bank of the Susquehannah.

The conquerors invested Kingston anew, and, to dismay the relics of the garrison by the most execrable spectacle, they hurled into the place above 200 scalps, still reeking with the blood of their slaughtered brethren. Colonel Dennison, who commanded the fort, seeing the impossibility of defence, sent out a flag to inquire of Butler what terms would be allowed the garrison, on surrendering the fort. He answered, with all the fellness of his inhuman character, and in a single word—the "hatchet." Reduced to this dreadful extremity,

the colonel still made what resistance he could. At length, having lost almost all his soldiers, he surrendered at discretion. The savages entered the fort, and began to drag out the vanquished, who, knowing the hands they were in, expected no mercy. But, impatient of the tedious process of murder in detail, the barbarians afterwards bethought themselves of enclosing the men, women and children promiscuously in the houses and barracks, to which they set fire, and consumed all within, listening, delighted, to the moans and shrieks of the expiring multitude.

The fort of Wilkesbarre still remained in the power of the colonists of Wyoming. The victors presented themselves before it; those within, hoping to find mercy, surrendered at discretion, and without resistance. But if opposition exasperated these ferocious men, or rather these tigers, insatiable of human blood, submission did not soften them. Their rage was principally exercised upon the soldiers of the garrison; all of whom they put to death, with a barbarity ingenious in tortures. As for the rest, men, women and children, who appeared to them not to merit any special attention, they burned them as before, in the houses and barracks. The forts being fallen into their hands, the barbarians proceeded without obstacle to the devastation of the country. They employed, at once, fire, sword, and all instruments of destruction. The crops, of every description, were consigned to the flames. The habitations, granaries, and other constructions, the fruit of years of human industry, sunk in ruin under the destructive strokes of these cannibals. But who will believe that their fury, not yet satiated upon human creatures, was also wreaked upon the very beasts? that they cut out the tongues of the horses and cattle, and left them to wander in the midst of those fields lately so luxuriant, and now in desolation, seeming to enjoy the torments of their lingering death?

Several other instances of horrible cruelty we shall relate. Captain Bedlock, having been stripped naked, the savages stuck sharp pine splinters into all parts of his body; and then, a heap of knots of the same wood being piled round him, the whole was set on fire, and his two companions, the captains

Ranson and Durgee, thrown alive into the flames. The tories appeared to vie with, and even to surpass, the savages in barbarity. One of them, whose mother had married a second husband, butchered her with his own hand, and afterwards massacred his father-in-law, his own sisters, and their infants in the cradle. Another killed his own father, and exterminated all his family. A third imbrued his hands in the blood of his brothers, his sisters, his brother-in-law and his father-in-law.

These were a part only of the horrors perpetrated by the loyalists and Indians at the excision of Wyoming. Other atrocities, if possible, still more abominable, we leave in silence.

Those who had survived the massacres were no less worthy of commiseration; they were women and children, who had escaped to the woods at the time their husbands and fathers expired under the blows of the barbarians. Dispersed and wandering in the forests, as chance and fear directed their steps, without clothes, without food, without guide, these defenceless fugitives suffered every degree of distress. Several of the women were delivered alone in the woods, at a great distance from every possibility of relief. The most robust and resolute alone escaped; the others perished. Their bodies and those of their hapless infants became the prey of wild beasts. Thus the most flourishing colony then existing in America was totally erased.*

Soon after the destruction of Wyoming, a body of 500 men, consisting of regulars, tories and Indians, made a descent upon Cherry Valley. Colonel Alden, who had been posted there with a continental regiment, while quartering with his family some distance from the fort, was surprised and killed with several of his officers and soldiers. After an ineffectual attack upon the fort, they desolated the settlement, and retired. The most shocking cruelties were committed. After killing the inhabitants, they ripped open and quartered the bodies, and then suspended the mangled limbs on the branches of the trees. Infants were taken from the breasts of their mothers, and their brains dashed out against posts.

* Botta.

SEC. IX. In consequence of the depredations of the Indians, several expeditions were, during the present year (1779), conducted against them. Colonel Van Shaick marched from fort Schuyler, in April, with 55 men, and burned the whole Onondaga settlement, consisting of about 50 houses, without the loss of a single man ; a considerable number of the Indians were killed and taken prisoners.

In August, an expedition was conducted chiefly against the Senecas, who had their principal stations on the banks of the Genesee. General Sullivan, with 3000 men, ascended the Susquehannah to Tioga Point, where he was met by general Clinton, who, with above 1000, had marched from the Mohawk by the way of Cherry Valley. Uniting their forces, they proceeded against the Senecas. The enterprise was successful ; the Indians were totally routed in an engagement near Newton on the Tioga river, and their settlements laid waste.

The Indians, on hearing of the projected expedition, took possession of an elevated ground, and fortified it with judgment. General Sullivan commenced a cannonade against them in their works, which they sustained for more than two hours. They at length gave way, and, when their trenches were forced, fled with precipitation. The victorious army penetrated into the very heart of their country, and laid it desolate. Their villages, with their detached habitations, their corn-fields, fruit-trees, and gardens, were indiscriminately destroyed.*

Different parts of the state suffered severely from the depredations of detached parties of Indians. In July, a party of

* Holmes's Annals.

Indians, with some white men, under Brandt, burned the Minisink settlement, and made several prisoners. In August, the Indians, with their tory associates, destroyed the settlements at Canajoharie, and burned a number of houses at Schoharie and Norman's creek.

In October, these irruptions were renewed. Stone Arabia and several other places were attacked, and Schoharie afresh. A great extent of country about the Mohawk was laid waste, and many of the settlers were killed or made prisoners.

Much public, as well as private embarrassment, was at this period experienced from the depreciation of the bills of credit. Congress had emitted these bills to an immense amount, which was not a little increased by the enemy, who counterfeited the bills, and circulated their forgeries among the states. This depreciation continued to increase, until the bills of credit, or the "continental currency," as it was called, became of little or no value.

SEC. X. 1780. The British continued to occupy their posts in the city of New York and its vicinity; but no important enterprises were effected in this quarter. During the present and the succeeding year, the operations of the war were conducted chiefly in the Southern States, and were attended with various success.

Towards the close of the campaign of 1779, sir Henry Clinton embarked, with a force of above 7000 men, for the reduction of Charleston in South Carolina, which fell into the hands of the enemy on the 12th of May, 1780. General Gates was, soon after, appointed to command the southern division of the American army, and, on the 16th of August, came in contact with the British, under lord Cornwallis, at Camden. A sanguinary conflict ensued, in which the British were victorious.

A detachment of the enemy, consisting of 5000 men from the northern division, under general Kniphausen, made an incursion into New Jersey, in June, plundered the country, and wantonly burned several villages. The spirits of the

Americans, in the midst of these misfortunes, were revived by the arrival of M. de Ternay from France, early in July, with a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and five smaller armed vessels, with several transports, and a reinforcement of 6000 men, all under the command of lieutenant-general count de Rochambeau.

SEC. XI. A remarkable instance of treachery occurred the present year in the northern division of the American army. General Arnold, having solicited and obtained the command of West Point, entered into negotiations with sir Henry Clinton to deliver that important fortress into the hands of the enemy. The plot was, however, fortunately discovered seasonably to prevent its execution. Arnold escaped to the enemy, and Andre, the agent of the British, was taken, condemned and executed as a spy.

To facilitate the correspondence, a vessel, the *Vulture*, proceeded up the Hudson, and took a station as near West Point as practicable, without exciting suspicion. On the night of September the 21st, Andre went on shore in a boat, which was sent for him, and met Arnold at the beach. They remained here until it was too late for Andre to return to the *Vulture*, when Arnold conducted him within the American lines for concealment. During the ensuing day, the *Vulture* found it necessary to change her position, and Andre, being unable to get on board, attempted to return to New York, in disguise, by land.

Receiving a passport from Arnold, under the name of Anderson, he passed the guards and outposts without suspicion. At Tarrytown, 30 miles from New York, he was met by three militia soldiers,—John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Van Wert. Showing his passport, he was suffered to proceed. Immediately after this, one of these men, thinking that he observed something singular in the appearance of the traveller, called him back. Andre asked them where they were

from. "From down below," they replied, intending to say from New York. Too frank to suspect a snare, Andre immediately answered, "and so am I."

Andre was immediately arrested, when he declared himself a British officer, and offered them his watch and a sum of gold to be released. The soldiers, though poor and obscure, were not to be bribed. They rejected his offers, and, on searching their prisoner, found in his boots several papers written by the hand of Arnold himself, containing the most detailed information with respect to the positions of the Americans, their munitions, the garrison of West Point, and the most suitable mode of directing an attack against that fortress. Major Andre was conducted before the officer who commanded the advanced posts. Afraid of hurting Arnold by an immediate disclosure of his true character, and braving the danger of being instantly put to death as a spy, if it should be discovered that he had concealed his real name, he persisted in affirming that he was Anderson, as indicated by his passport. The American officer was at a loss what to decide; he could not persuade himself that his general, after having so often shed his blood for the country, was now resolved to betray it. These hesitations, the negations of Andre, the distance* at which Washington, and even Arnold, found themselves, gave the latter time to escape. As soon as he heard that Andre was arrested, he threw himself into a boat, and hastened on board the Vulture. The news of this event excited universal amazement. The people could scarcely credit the treachery of a man, in whom they had so long placed the utmost confidence. The peril they had run filled them with consternation; the happy chance which had rescued them from it appeared a prodigy.

When major Andre, from the time elapsed, could infer that Arnold must be in safety, he revealed his name and rank. He appeared less solicitous about his safety, than to prove that he was neither an impostor nor a spy. He endeavored to refute the appearances which seemed to depose against him. He affirmed that his intention had been merely to come and

* Washington had, at this time, gone to Hartford to hold a conference with count de Rochambeau.

confer, upon neutral ground, with a person designated by his general; but that thence he had been trepanned and drawn within the American lines. From that moment, he added none of his steps could be imputed to his default, since he then found himself in the power of others. Washington meanwhile, having returned, created a court-martial; among its members, besides many of the most distinguished American officers, were the marquis de la Fayette and the baron de Steuben. Major Andre appeared before his judges; they were specially charged to investigate and define the nature of the offence, and the punishment it involved, according to the laws of war. The demeanor of the young Englishman was equally remote from arrogance and from meanness. His blooming years, the ingenuous cast of his features, the mild elegance of his manners, had conciliated him an interest in every heart.

In the meantime, Arnold, being safely arrived on board the *Vulture*, immediately wrote a letter to Washington. He impudently declared in it that it was the same patriotism, of which he had never ceased to give proofs since the origin of the contest, which had now prescribed him his present step, whatever men might think of it, always so ill judges of the actions of others. He added, that he asked nothing for himself, having already but too much experience of the ingratitude of his country, but that he prayed and conjured the commander-in-chief to have the goodness to preserve his wife from the insults of an irritated people, by sending her to Philadelphia, among her friends, or by permitting her to come and rejoin him at New York. This letter was followed by a despatch from colonel Robinson, likewise dated on board the *Vulture*. He earnestly demanded that major Andre should be released, urging in his defence that he had gone ashore on public business, and under the protection of a flag, as well by the invitation of Arnold as by the command of his own general; that he was the bearer of a regular passport for his return to New York; that all his doings during the time he had passed with the Americans, and especially the change of his dress and name, had been dictated by the will of Arnold. The colonel concluded with alleging that the major

could no longer be detained without a violation of the sanctity of flags, and a contempt for all the laws of war, as they are acknowledged and practised by all nations. General Clinton wrote in much the same style in favor of Andre. In the letter of that general was enclosed a second from Arnold; its language could not pretend to the merit of reserve. He insisted that in his character of American general, he was invested with the right to grant Andre the usual privilege of flags, that he might approach in safety to confer with him; and that, in sending him back, he was competent to choose any way he thought the most proper. But major Andre betrayed less anxiety respecting his fate than was manifested in his behalf by his countrymen and friends. Naturally averse from all falsehood, from all subterfuge; desirous, if he must part with life, to preserve it at least pure and spotless to his last hour, he confessed, ingenuously, that he had by no means come under the protection of a flag; adding, that if he had come so accompanied, he should certainly have returned under the same escort. His language manifested an extreme attention to avoid imputing fault to any: abjuring, on the contrary, all dissimulation in regard to what concerned him personally, he often avowed more than was questioned him. So much generosity and constancy were universally admired. The fate of this unfortunate young man wrung tears of compassion even from his judges. All would have wished to save him; but the fact was too notorious. The court-martial, on the ground of his own confession, pronounced that he was, and ought to be considered as a spy, and as such to be punished with death. Washington notified this sentence to Clinton, in the answer to his letter. He recapitulated all the circumstances of the offence, inviting him to observe, that, although they were of a nature to justify towards major Andre the summary proceedings usual in the case of spies, still he had preferred to act in respect to him with more deliberation and scruple; that it was, therefore, not without a perfect knowledge of the cause, that the court-martial had passed the judgment of which he apprized him. But Clinton, half delirious with anguish at the destiny of Andre, whom he loved with the utmost tenderness, did not restrict himself to the efforts

he had already made to preserve him. He again wrote to Washington, praying him to consent to a conference between several delegates of the two parties, in order to throw all the light possible upon so dubious an affair. Washington complied with the proposal; he sent general Greene to Dobbs' Ferry, where he was met by general Robertson on the part of the English. The latter exerted himself with extreme earnestness to prove that Andre could not be considered as a spy. He repeated the arguments already advanced of the privilege of flags, and of the necessity that controlled the actions of Andre while he was in the power of Arnold. But, perceiving that his reasoning produced no effect, he endeavored to persuade by the voice of humanity; he alleged the essential importance of mitigating, by generous counsels, the rigors of war; he extolled the clemency of general Clinton, who had never put to death any of those persons who had violated the laws of war; he reminded, that major Andre was particularly dear to the general-in-chief, and that, if he might be permitted to reconduct him to New York, any American, of whatever crime accused, and now in the power of the English, should be immediately set at liberty. He made still another proposition; and that was, to suspend the execution of the judgment, and to refer the affair to the decision of two officers, familiar alike with the laws of war and of nations, such as the generals Knyphausen and Rochambeau. Finally, general Robertson presented a letter from Arnold, directed to Washington, by which he endeavored to exculpate the British prisoner, and to take all the blame of his conduct upon himself. He did not retire till after having threatened the most terrible retaliations, if the sentence of the court-martial was executed; he declared, in particular, that the rebels of Carolina, whose life general Clinton had hitherto generously spared, should be immediately punished with death. The interposition of Arnold could not but tend to the prejudice of Andre; and even if the Americans had been inclined to clemency, his letter would have sufficed to divert them from it. The conference had no effect.

Meanwhile the young Englishman prepared himself for death. He manifested, at its approach, not that contempt

which is often no other than dissimulation, or brutishness; nor yet that weakness which is peculiar to effeminate, or guilty men; but that firmness which is the noble characteristic of the virtuous and brave. He regretted life, but he sighed still deeper at the manner of losing it. He could have wished to die a professional death; but he was doomed to the punishment of spies and malefactors, to the infamous death of the halter. This idea struck him with horror, and, on being apprized of the fate that awaited him, he addressed a letter to general Washington, in which he made the following pathetic appeal:*

“Buoyed above the terror of death,” said he, “by the consciousness of a life devoted to honorable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request that I make to your excellency at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected. Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce your excellency, and a military friend, to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honor. Let me hope, sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me, as the victim of policy and resentment, I shall experience the operation of those feelings in your breast by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet.”

General Washington held a consultation with his officers on the propriety of major Andre's request to be shot; but it was deemed necessary to deny it, and, on the 2d of October, this gallant, but unfortunate young man expired on the gallows, universally lamented, both by friends and foes.

Congress voted to Paulding, Williams and Van Wert, as a reward for their virtuous and patriotic conduct, to each an annuity of \$200 and a silver medal, on one side of which was a shield, with the inscription “Fidelity;” on the other, the motto “*Vincit amor patriæ*,”—the love of country conquers.

Major Andre had been injudiciously permitted by Jameson to write to Arnold, who took refuge on board the *Vulture*, and escaped to New York, where he received the commission of brigadier-general, and the sum of £10,000 sterling, as the price of his dishonor.

Soon after Arnold entered the service of the enemy, he took the command of an enterprise against Virginia, and signified his zeal in the cause he had espoused by committing depredations against the inhabitants of that state.

SEC. XII. When it was ascertained, that Arnold had taken refuge with the enemy at New York, general Washington made exertions to take him, and bring him to the reward of his treachery. The design was, however, frustrated by the embarkation of Arnold for Virginia.

“Having matured the plan, Washington sent to major Lee to repair to head-quarters, at Tappan, on the Hudson. ‘I have sent for you,’ said general Washington, ‘in the expectation that you have some one in your corps, who is willing to undertake a delicate and hazardous project. Whoever comes forward will confer great obligations upon me personally, and, in behalf of the United States, I will reward him amply. No time is to be lost; he must proceed, if possible, to-night. I intend to seize Arnold, and save Andre.’

“Major Lee named a sergeant-major of his corps, by the name of *Champe*, a native of Virginia, a man full of bone and muscle, with a countenance grave, thoughtful, and taciturn, of tried courage, and inflexible perseverance.

“Champe was sent for by major Lee, and the plan proposed. This was for him to desert; to escape to New York; to appear friendly to the enemy; to watch Arnold, and, upon some fit opportunity, with the assistance of some one whom Champe could trust, to seize him, and conduct him to a place on the river, appointed, where boats should be in readiness to bear them away.

“Champe listened to the plan attentively; but, with the spirit of a man of honor and integrity, replied, ‘that it was not danger nor difficulty, that deterred him from immediately accepting the proposal, but the ignominy of desertion, and the hypocrisy of enlisting with the enemy! ’

“To these objections, Lee replied, that although he would appear to desert, yet, as he obeyed the call of his commander-

in-chief, his departure could not be considered as criminal, and that, if he suffered in reputation for a time, the matter would, one day, be explained to his credit. As to the second objection, it was urged, that, to bring such a man as Arnold to justice, loaded with guilt as he was, and to save Andre, so young, so accomplished, so beloved, to achieve so much good in the cause of his country, was more than sufficient to balance a wrong, existing only in appearance.

"The objections of Champe were, at length, surmounted, and he accepted the service. It was now 11 o'clock at night. With his instructions in his pocket, the sergeant returned to camp, and, taking his cloak, valise and orderly-book, drew his horse from the picket, and mounted, putting himself upon fortune.

"Scarcely had half an hour elapsed, before captain Carnes, the officer of the day, waited upon Lee, who was vainly attempting to rest, and informed him that one of the patrol had fallen in with a dragoon, who, being challenged, put spurs to his horse and escaped. Lee, hoping to conceal the flight of Champe, or, at least, to delay pursuit, complained of fatigue, and told the captain that the patrol had probably mistaken a countryman for a dragoon. Carnes, however, was not thus to be quieted; and he withdrew to assemble his corps. On examination, it was found that Champe was absent. The captain now returned, and acquainted Lee with the discovery, adding, that he had detached a party to pursue the deserter, and begged the major's written orders.

"After making as much delay as practicable, without exciting suspicion, Lee delivers his orders, in which he directed the party to take Champe if possible. 'Bring him alive,' said he, 'that he may suffer in the presence of the army; but kill him if he resists, or if he escapes after being taken.'

"A shower of rain fell soon after Champe's departure, which enabled the pursuing dragoons to take the trail of his horse, his shoes, in common with those of the horses of the army, being made in a peculiar form, and each having a private mark, which was to be seen in the path.

"Middleton, the leader of the pursuing party, left the camp

a few minutes past 12, so that Champe had the start of but little more than an hour—a period by far shorter than had been contemplated. During the night, the dragoons were often delayed in the necessary halts to examine the road; but, on the coming of morning, the impression of the horse's shoes was so apparent, that they pressed on with rapidity. Some miles above Bergen, a village three miles north of New York, on the opposite side of the Hudson, on ascending a hill, Champe was descried, not more than half a mile distant. Fortunately, Champe descried his pursuers at the same moment, and, conjecturing their object, put spurs to his horse, with the hope of escape.

"By taking a different road, Champe was, for a time, lost sight of; but, on approaching the river, he was again descried. Aware of his danger, he now lashed his valise, containing his clothes and orderly-book, to his shoulders, and prepared himself to plunge into the river, if necessary. Swift was his flight, and swift the pursuit. Middleton and his party were within a few hundred yards, when Champe threw himself from his horse, and plunged into the river, calling aloud upon some British galleys, at no great distance, for help. A boat was instantly despatched to the sergeant's assistance, and a fire commenced upon the pursuers. Champe was taken on board, and soon after carried to New York, with a letter from the captain of the galley, stating the past scene, all of which he had witnessed.

"The pursuers, having recovered the sergeant's horse and cloak, returned to camp, where they arrived about three o'clock the next day. On their appearance with the well-known horse, the soldiers made the air resound with the acclamations that the scoundrel was killed. The agony of Lee, for a moment, was past description, lest the faithful, honorable, intrepid Champe had fallen. But the truth soon relieved his fears, and he repaired to Washington, to impart to him the success, thus far, of his plan.

"Soon after the arrival of Champe in New York, he was sent to sir Henry Clinton, who treated him kindly, but detained him more than an hour in asking him questions, to

answer some of which, without exciting suspicion, required all the art the sergeant was master of. He succeeded, however, and sir Henry gave him a couple of guineas, and recommended him to Arnold, who was wishing to procure American recruits. Arnold received him kindly, and proposed to him to join his legion ; Champe, however, expressed his wish to retire from war ; but assured the general, that, if he should change his mind, he would enlist.

“Champe found means to communicate to Lee an account of his adventures ; but, unfortunately, he could not succeed in taking Arnold, as was wished, before the execution of Andre. Ten days before Champe brought his project to a conclusion, Lee received from him his final communication, appointing the third subsequent night for a party of dragoons to meet him at Hoboken, opposite New York, when he hoped to deliver Arnold to the officers.

“Champe had enlisted into Arnold’s legion, from which time he had every opportunity he could wish to attend to the habits of the general. He discovered that it was his custom to return home about 12 every night, and that, previously to going to bed, he always visited the garden. During this visit, the conspirators were to seize him, and, being prepared with a gag, they were to apply the same instantly.

“Adjoining the house in which Arnold resided, and in which it was designed to seize and gag him, Champe had taken off several of the palings, and replaced them, so that with ease, and without noise, he could readily open his way to the adjoining alley. Into this alley he intended to convey his prisoner, aided by his companion, one of two associates, who had been introduced by the friend, to whom Champe had been originally made known by letter from the commander-in-chief, and with whose aid and counsel he had so far conducted the enterprise. His other associate was, with the boat, prepared, at one of the wharves on the Hudson river, to receive the party.

“Champe and his friend intended to place themselves each under Arnold’s shoulder, and thus to bear him through the most unfrequented alleys and streets to the boat, representing

Arnold, in case of being questioned, as a drunken soldier, whom they were conveying to the guard-house.

" When arrived at the boat, the difficulties would be all surmounted, there being no danger nor obstacle in passing to the Jersey shore. These particulars, as soon as made known to Lee, were communicated to the commander-in-chief, who was highly gratified with the much desired intelligence. He desired major Lee to meet Champe, and to take care that Arnold should not be hurt.

" The day arrived, and Lee, with a party of accoutred horses, (one for Arnold, one for the sergeant, and the third for his associate, who was to assist in securing Arnold,) left the camp, never doubting the success of the enterprise, from the tenor of the last received communication. The party reached Hoboken about midnight, where they were concealed in the adjoining wood; Lee, with three dragoons, stationing himself near the shore of the river. Hour after hour passed, but no boat approached.

" At length the day broke, and the major retired to his party, and, with his led horses, returned to the camp, where he proceeded to head-quarters, to inform the general of the much lamented disappointment, as mortifying as inexplicable. Washington, having perused Champe's plan and communication, had indulged the presumption, that, at length, the object of his keen and constant pursuit was sure of execution, and did not dissemble the joy which such a conviction produced. He was chagrined at the issue, and apprehended that his faithful sergeant must have been detected in the last scene of his tedious and difficult enterprise.

" In a few days, Lee received an anonymous letter from Champe's patron and friend, informing him, that, on the day preceding the night fixed for the execution of the plot, Arnold had removed his quarters to another part of the town, to superintend the embarkation of troops, preparing, as was rumored, for an expedition to be directed by himself; and that the American legion, consisting chiefly of American deserters, had been transferred from their barracks to one of the transports, it being apprehended, that, if left on shore until the expedition was ready, many of them might desert.

“Thus it happened that John Champe, instead of crossing the Hudson that night, was safely deposited on board one of the fleet of transports, from whence he never departed, until the troops under Arnold landed in Virginia. Nor was he able to escape from the British army, until after the junction of lord Cornwallis at Petersburg, when he deserted ; and, proceeding high up into Virginia, he passed into North Carolina, near the Saura towns, and, keeping in the friendly districts of that state, safely joined the army soon after it had passed the Congaree, in pursuit of lord Rawdon.

“His appearance excited extreme surprise among his former comrades, which was not a little increased, when they saw the cordial reception he met with from the late major, now lieutenant-colonel, Lee. His whole story was soon known to the corps, which reproduced the love and respect of officers and soldiers heretofore invariably entertained for the sergeant, heightened by universal admiration of his late daring and arduous attempt.

“Champe was introduced to general Greene, who very cheerfully complied with the promise made by the commander-in-chief, so far as in his power ; and, having provided the sergeant with a good horse and money for his journey, sent him to general Washington, who munificently anticipated every desire of the sergeant, and presented him with a discharge from further service, lest he might, in the vicissitudes of war, fall into the hands of the enemy, when, if recognised, he was sure to die on a gibbet.

“We shall only add, respecting the after life of this interesting adventurer, that, when general Washington was called by president Adams, in 1798, to the command of the army, prepared to defend the country against French hostility, he sent to lieutenant-colonel Lee, to inquire for Champe ; being determined to bring him into the field at the head of a company of infantry. Lee sent to Loudon county, Virginia, where Champe settled after his discharge from the army ; when he learned that the gallant soldier had removed to Kentucky, where he soon after died.”*

SEC. XIII. 1781. The Southern States still continued to be the principal theatre of military operations. The present campaign in that department was distinguished by several important enterprises.

A detachment of the enemy, under colonel Tarleton, came in contact with the Americans under general Morgan, on the 17th of January, when was fought the spirited battle of the Cowpens, in which the Americans obtained a decided triumph. The British lost, in killed, wounded and taken prisoners, above 600; the loss of the Americans amounted to only 12 killed and 60 wounded.

On the approach of the enemy, general Morgan drew up his men in two lines. The front line was composed entirely of militia, placed under the command of colonel Pickens, and was advanced a few yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second, when forced to retire. Major M'Dowell, with a battalion of the North Carolina volunteers, and major Cunningham, with a battalion of Georgia volunteers, were advanced about 150 yards in front of this line. The second line consisted of the light infantry and a corps of Virginia riflemen. The cavalry, under lieutenant-colonel Washington, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The British, led to the attack by Tarleton himself, advanced with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. The militia, though they received the charge with firmness, were soon compelled to fall back into the rear of the second line; and this line, in its turn, after an obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. At this juncture, lieutenant-colonel Washington made a successful charge on captain Ogilvie, who, with about 40 dragoons, was cutting down the retreating militia; lieutenant-colonel Howard, almost at the same moment, rallied the continental troops, and charged with fixed bayonets; and the militia instantly followed

the example. By these sudden and unexpected charges, the British, who had considered the fate of the day decided, were thrown into confusion, and driven from the ground with great slaughter. Howard and Washington pressed the advantage, which they had respectively gained, until the artillery and a great part of the infantry had surrendered. So sudden was the defeat, that 250 horse, which had not been brought into action, fled with precipitation.

With the expectation of retaking the prisoners, and the intention of obliterating the impression made by the late defeat, lord Cornwallis instantly determined on the pursuit of Morgan, who had moved off towards Virginia. The movements of the royal army induced general Greene immediately to retreat from Hick's creek; and, leaving the main army under the command of general Huger, he rode 150 miles through the country to join the detachment under general Morgan, that he might be in front of lord Cornwallis, and so direct both divisions of his army, as to form a speedy junction between them. Greene, on his arrival, ordered the prisoners to Charlottesville, and directed the troops to Guilford court-house, to which place he had ordered general Huger to proceed with the main army. In this retreat, the Americans endured extreme hardships with admirable fortitude. The British urged the pursuit with such rapidity, that they reached the Catawba on the evening of the same day on which the Americans crossed it; and, before the next morning, a heavy fall of rain rendered that river impassable. A passage at length being effected, the pursuit was continued. The Americans, by expeditious movements, crossed the Yadkin on the second and third days of February, and secured their boats on the north side; but the British, though close in their rear, were incapable of crossing it, through the want of boats, and the rapid rising of the river from preceding rains.

After a junction of the two divisions of the American army, at Guilford court-house, it was concluded in a council of officers, called by general Greene, that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid an engagement until he should be reinforced. Lord Cornwallis kept the upper countries, where only the rivers are fordable, and attempted to get between

general Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat, and oblige him to fight under many disadvantages; but the American general completely eluded him. So urgent was the pursuit of the British, that, on the 14th of February, the American light troops were compelled to retire upward of 40 miles; and on that day, general Greene, by indefatigable exertions, transported his army over the Dan into Virginia. Here, again, the pressure was so close, that the van of the British just arrived as the rear of the Americans had crossed. The continental army being now driven out of North Carolina, earl Cornwallis left the Dan, and proceeded to Hillsborough, where he set up the royal standard. Greene, perceiving the necessity of some spirited measure to counteract his lordship's influence on the inhabitants of the country, concluded, at every hazard, to recross the Dan. After manœuvring in a very masterly manner, to avoid an action with Cornwallis, three weeks, during which time he was often obliged to ask bread of the common soldiers, his army was joined by two brigades of militia from North Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with 400 regulars. This reinforcement giving him a superiority of numbers, he determined no longer to avoid an engagement. The American army consisted of about 4400 men, of which more than one half were militia; the British, of about 2400, chiefly veteran troops. The Americans were drawn up at Guilford in three lines. The front line was composed of North Carolina militia, commanded by generals Butler and Eaton; the second, of Virginia militia, commanded by Stephens and Lawson; the third, of continental troops, commanded by general Huger and colonel Williams. The British, after a brisk cannonade in front, advanced in three columns, the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and lieutenant-colonel Webster's brigade on the left; and attacked the front line. The militia composing this line, through the misconduct of an officer in giving occasion to a false alarm, precipitately quitted the field. The Virginia militia stood their ground, and kept up their fire until they were ordered to retreat. The continental troops were last engaged, and maintained the conflict with great spirit an hour and a half; but then were forced to give way before their veteran adver-

saries. The British broke the second Maryland brigade; turned the American left flank; and got in rear of the Virginia brigade. On their appearing to be gaining Greene's right, and thus threatening to encircle the whole of the continental troops, a retreat was ordered, which was well conducted. This was a dear-bought victory to the British, whose killed and wounded amounted to several hundred.

Immediately after the battle of Guilford, general Greene took the bold resolution of leading back his forces, and attacking the enemy's post at Camden. While the army was on its march, generals Marion and Lee invested fort Watson, which lay between Camden and Charleston. This fort was built on an Indian mount, upward of 30 feet high; but the besiegers, speedily erecting a work which overlooked the fort, fired into it with such execution, that the garrison, consisting of 114 men, surrendered by capitulation. Camden was at this time defended by lord Rawdon with about 900 men. General Greene, whose army consisted of but about an equal number of continentals, and between 200 and 300 militia, took a good position about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison out of their lines. On the 25th, lord Rawdon sallied out with great spirit; and an engagement ensued. The American army, in the first of the action, had the advantage; but, in the progress of it, the premature retreat of two companies occasioned a total defeat. Greene, to prevent Rawdon from improving the success that he had gained, made an orderly retreat, and encamped about five miles from his former position. Most of his wounded, and all his artillery, together with a number of prisoners, were safely brought off from the field. Washington's cavalry enabled general Greene to make good his retreat. The general ordered them to charge the enemy's right flank. They made the charge, soon got into the rear, and threw them into the greatest confusion. The British retired to Camden. Although victory decided in favor of the British, the result was, on the whole, favorable to the American cause. Lord Rawdon, receiving a reinforcement, attempted, the next day, to compel general Greene to another action; but, not succeeding in that design, he returned to Camden, and, having burned the gaol, mills, and many

private houses, and a great part of his own baggage, evacuated that post, and retired to the southward of the Santee.*

General Lee, in the mean time, took possession of an important post, near the confluence of the Congaree and Santee rivers; and lord Rawdon soon after evacuated Camden, and the whole line of British posts, with the exception of Charleston and Ninety-Six.

General Greene, the latter part of May, made an unsuccessful assault upon Ninety-Six. The enemy, however, soon after abandoned this post, and encamped at the Eutaw Springs. Here, on the 8th of September, general Greene advanced with 2000 men to attack them in their encampment. His force was drawn up in two lines; the first was composed of militia, and the second of continental troops. As the Americans advanced, they fell in with two parties of the British, three or four miles ahead of their main army. These, being briskly attacked, soon retired. The militia continued to pursue and fire, till the action became general, and till they were obliged to give way. They were well supported by the continental troops. In the hottest of the action, colonel O. Williams and lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with the Maryland and Virginia continentals, charged with trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed on in good order, through a heavy cannonade and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, while bravely leading his men on to that successful charge, received a mortal wound. After he had fallen, he inquired who gave way, and, being informed that the British were fleeing in all quarters, replied, "I die contented," and immediately expired. The British were vigorously pursued, and upwards of 500 of them were taken prisoners. On their retreat they took post in a strong brick house, and in a picketed garden. From these advantageous positions they renewed the action. Four six pounders were ordered up before the house, from under cover of which the British were firing. The Americans were compelled to leave these pieces and retire, but they left a strong picket on the field of

* Holmes's Annals.

battle, and only retreated to the nearest water in their rear. In the evening of the next day, lieutenant-colonel Stuart, who commanded the British on this occasion, left 70 of his wounded men and 1000 stand of arms, and moved from the Eutaws towards Charleston. The loss of the British, inclusive of prisoners, was upwards of 1100 men; that of the Americans, above 500, in which number were 60 officers.*

SEC. XIV. Early in the present season, a plan was formed for laying siege to New York, in concert with a French fleet, expected on the coast in August. The American troops were accordingly concentrated at King's Bridge, and all things prepared for a vigorous siege. In the midst of these preparations, general Washington received information that the expected fleet, under count de Grasse, would arrive in the Chesapeake, and that this, instead of New York, was the place of its destination. Disappointed in not having the cooperation of this force, Washington now changed his plan of operations, and directed his attention to the movements of the enemy in Virginia.

After the battle of Guilford, Cornwallis, leaving South Carolina in charge of lord Rawdon, marched into Virginia. The marquis de la Fayette, with 3000 men, hastened to oppose him; but the British receiving a reinforcement, it was not deemed prudent to risk an engagement. After several ineffectual attempts to compel the marquis to a battle, Cornwallis retired to Yorktown, near the mouth of York river, where he encamped, and erected fortifications.

SEC. XV. The fleet under the count de Grasse having arrived, it was resolved to make an attempt upon Cornwallis. The combined armies accordingly advanced upon Yorktown, and the

* Ramsay.

place was regularly invested on the 6th of October. The siege was sustained with the most determined resolution, but, on the 19th, the place was compelled to surrender, with above 7000 prisoners of war. The capture of Cornwallis decided the triumph of the American cause. After this event, no further enterprises of any importance were attempted, and a few skirmishes alone indicated the continuance of the war.

The combined forces proceeded on their way to Yorktown, partly by land, and partly down the Chesapeake. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under the command of general Nelson, amounting, in the aggregate, to 12,000 men, rendezvoused at Williamsburg on the 25th of September, and, in five days after, moved down to the investiture of Yorktown. The French fleet, at the same time, moved to the mouth of York river, and took a position which was calculated to prevent lord Cornwallis either from retreating or receiving succor by water. Previously to the march from Williamsburg to Yorktown, Washington gave out in general orders as follows : "If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army, on its march, the general particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the boast, which the British make of their peculiar prowess in deciding battles with that weapon."

The combined army halted, in the evening, about two miles from Yorktown, and lay on their arms all night. On the next day, colonel Scammell, an officer of uncommon merit, and of the most amiable manners, in approaching the outer works of the British, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. About this time, earl Cornwallis received a letter from sir Henry Clinton, announcing the arrival of admiral Digby, with three ships of the line, from Europe, and the determination of the general and flag-officers in New York to embark 5000 men in a fleet, which would probably sail on the 5th of October ; that

this fleet consisted of 23 sail of the line, and that joint exertions of the navy and army would be made for his relief. On the night after the receipt of this intelligence, earl Cornwallis quitted his outward position, and retired to one more inward.

The works erected for the security of Yorktown on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the centre, which was defended by a line of stockade, and by batteries. On the left of the centre was a hornwork with a ditch, a row of fraise and an abatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. The combined forces advanced, and took possession of the ground from which the British had retired. About this time the legion cavalry and mounted infantry passed over the river to Gloucester. General de Choisy invested the British post on that side so fully, as to cut off all communication between it and the country. In the meantime, the royal army was straining every nerve to strengthen their works, and their artillery was constantly employed in impeding the operations of the combined army. On the 9th and 10th of October, the French and Americans opened their batteries. They kept up a brisk and well-directed fire from heavy cannon, from mortars and howitzers. The shells of the besiegers reached the ships in the harbor, and the Charon, of 44 guns, and a transport-ship, were burned. On the 16th, a messenger arrived with a despatch from sir Henry Clinton to earl Cornwallis, dated on the 30th of September, which stated various circumstances tending to lessen the probability of relief being obtained, by a direct movement from New York. Earl Cornwallis was, at this juncture, advised to evacuate Yorktown, and, after passing over to Gloucester, to force his way into the country. Whether this movement would have been successful, no one can, with certainty, pronounce; but it could not have produced any consequences more injurious to the royal interest, than those which resulted from declining the attempt. On the other hand, had this movement been made, and the royal army been defeated or captured in the interior country, and, in the meantime, had sir Henry Clinton, with the promised relief, reached Yorktown, the precipitancy of the noble earl would have

been, perhaps, more the subject of censure, than his resolution of standing his ground and resisting to the last extremity. From this uncertain ground of conjectures, I proceed to relate real events. The besiegers commenced their second parallel 200 yards from the works of the besieged. Two redoubts, which were advanced on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies. It was, therefore, proposed to carry them by storm. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed to the French, of the other, to the Americans, and both marched to the assault with unloaded arms. The Americans having passed the abatis and palisades, they attacked on all sides, and carried the redoubt in a few minutes, with the loss of 8 killed and 28 wounded. Lieutenant-colonel Laurens personally took the commanding officer prisoner. His humanity, and that of his associates, so overcame their resentment, that they spared the British, though they were charged, when they went to the assault, to remember New London, (the recent massacres at which place shall be hereafter related,) and to retaliate by putting the men in the redoubt to the sword. Being asked why they had disobeyed orders by bringing them off as prisoners, they answered, "We could not put them to death, when they begged for their lives." About five of the British were killed, and the rest were captured. Colonel Hamilton, who conducted the enterprise, in his report to the marquis de la Fayette, mentioned, to the honor of his detachment, "that, incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they spared every man who ceased to resist."

The French were equally successful on their part. They carried the redoubt assigned to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two redoubts were included in the second parallel, and facilitated the subsequent operations of the besiegers. The British could not, with propriety, risk repeated sallies. One was projected at this time, consisting of 400 men, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie. He proceeded so far as to force two redoubts, and to spike 11 pieces of cannon. Though the officers and soldiers displayed great bravery in this enterprise, yet their

success produced no essential advantage. The cannon were soon unspiked, and rendered fit for service.

By this time, the batteries of the besiegers were covered with nearly 100 pieces of heavy ordnance, and the works of the besieged were so damaged, that they could scarcely show a single gun. Lord Cornwallis had now no hope left but from offering terms of capitulation or attempting an escape. He determined on the latter. This, though less practicable than when first proposed, was not altogether hopeless. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to transport them to Gloucester Point. After one whole embarkation had crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats employed on this business, and frustrated the whole scheme. The royal army, thus weakened by division, was exposed to increased danger.

Orders were sent to those who had passed to recross the river to Yorktown. With the failure of this scheme the last hope of the British army expired. Longer resistance could answer no good purpose, and might occasion the loss of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, wrote a letter to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for 24 hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to digest terms of capitulation. It is remarkable, while lieutenant-colonel Laurens, the officer employed by general Washington on this occasion, was drawing up these articles, that his father was closely confined in the tower of London, of which earl Cornwallis was constable. By this singular combination of circumstances, his lordship became a prisoner to the son of his own prisoner.

The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered by a capitulation, the principal articles of which were as follows: The troops to be prisoners of war to congress, and the naval force to France; the officers to retain their side-arms and private property of every kind; but all property, obviously belonging to the inhabitants of the United States, to be subject to be reclaimed; the soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, and to be supplied with the same rations as are allowed to soldiers in the service of congress;

a proportion of the officers to march into the country with the prisoners; the rest to be allowed to proceed on parole to Europe, to New York, or to any other American maritime post in possession of the British. The honor of marching out with colors flying, which had been refused to general Lincoln on his giving up Charleston, was now refused to earl Cornwallis; and general Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at Yorktown, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted, about 18 months before. Lord Cornwallis endeavored to obtain permission for the British and German troops to return to their respective countries, under no other restrictions than an engagement not to serve against France or America. He also tried to obtain an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to recede from the former, and also to consent that the loyalists in his camp should be given up to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship nevertheless obtained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined to New York. This gave an opportunity of screening such of them as were most obnoxious to the Americans.

The regular troops of France and America, employed in this siege, consisted of about 7000 of the former, and 5500 of the latter; and they were assisted by about 4000 militia. On the part of the combined army, about 300 were killed or wounded; on the part of the British, about 500; and 70 were taken in the redoubts, which were carried by assault on the 14th of October. Of the 7000 men surrendered prisoners of war, so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only 3800 capable of bearing arms. The French and American engineers and artillery merited and received the highest applause. Brigadier-generals Du Portail and Knox were both promoted to the rank of major-generals, on account of their meritorious services. Lieutenant-colonel Gouvion and captain Rochefontaine, of the corps of engineers, respectively received brevets, the former to the rank of a colonel, and the latter to the rank of a major.

Congress honored general Washington, count de Rochambeau, count de Grasse, and the officers of the different corps, and the men under them, with thanks for their services in the

reduction of lord Cornwallis. The whole project was conceived with profound wisdom, and the incidents of it had been combined with singular propriety. It is not, therefore, wonderful, that, from the remarkable coincidence in all its parts, it was crowned with unvaried success.

A British fleet and an army of 7000 men, destined for the relief of lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the 24th of October; but, on receiving advice of his lordship's surrender, they returned to Sandy Hook and New York. Such was the fate of that general, from whose gallantry and previous successes the speedy conquests of the Southern States had been so confidently expected. No event during the war bid fairer for oversetting the independence of at least a part of the confederacy, than his complete victory at Camden; but, by the consequences of that action, his lordship became the occasion of rendering that a revolution, which, from his previous success, was in danger of terminating as a rebellion. The loss of his army may be considered as the closing scene of the continental war in North America.

While the combined armies were advancing to the siege of Yorktown, an excursion was made from New York, which was attended with no small loss to the Americans. General Arnold, who had lately returned from Virginia, was appointed to conduct an expedition, the object of which was the town of New London, in his native country. The troops employed therein were landed in two detachments, on each side of the harbor. The one was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Eyre and the other by general Arnold. The latter met with little opposition: fort Trumbull and a redoubt which was intended to cover the harbor, not being tenable, were evacuated, and the men crossed the river to fort Griswold, on Groton hill. This was furiously attacked by lieutenant-colonel Eyre: the garrison defended themselves with great resolution; but, after a severe conflict of 40 minutes, the fort was carried by the assailants. The Americans had not more than six or seven men killed when the British carried their lines, but a severe execution took place afterwards, though resistance had ceased. An officer of the conquering troops inquired, on his entering the fort, who commanded. Colonel Ledyard answered. "I did, but you do

now," and presented him his sword. The colonel was immediately run through the body, and killed. Between 30 and 40 were wounded, and about 40 were carried off prisoners. On the side of the British, 48 were killed and 145 wounded: among the latter was major Montgomery, and among the former was colonel Eyre. About 15 vessels, loaded with the effects of the inhabitants, retreated up the river, and four others remained in the harbor unhurt; but all excepting these were burned by the communication of fire from the burning stores. Sixty dwelling houses and eighty-four stores were reduced to ashes, and the loss which the Americans sustained by the destruction of naval stores, of provision and merchandise, was immense. General Arnold, having completed the object of the expedition, returned in eight days to New York. The Americans lost many valuable men, and much of their possessions, by this incursion, but the cause for which they contended was uninjured. Expeditions which seemed to have no higher object than the destruction of property, alienated their affections still farther from British government. They were not so extensive as to answer the ends of conquest, and the momentary impression resulting from them produced no lasting intimidation. On the other hand, they excited a spirit of revenge against the authors of such accumulated distresses.*

SEC. XVI. The British government now began to abandon all hope of conquering America, and frequent motions were made in the British parliament for putting an end to the war.

The provisional articles of peace between the two countries were signed by their respective commissioners at Paris, on the 30th of November, 1782. On the 19th of April, 1783, a formal proclamation of the cessation of hostilities was made throughout the army; and the definitive treaty, acknowledging the colonies to be free and independent states, was signed on

* Ramsay.

the 30th of September. The British evacuated New York on the 25th of November, and the Americans took possession the same day.

The independence of the United States had been previously acknowledged by most of the European governments. It was acknowledged by Holland in 1782; by Sweden in February, 1783; by Denmark in the same month; by Spain in March, and by Russia in July.

In October, congress issued a proclamation for disbanding the armies of the United States, and giving them the thanks of their country "for their long, eminent and faithful services." On the 2d of October, general Washington issued his farewell orders to the army, which were replete with salutary advice respecting their future conduct, and with affectionate wishes for their present and future happiness. His closing words were,

"And being now about to conclude these my last public orders, to take my ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies I have so long had the honor to command, I can only again offer, in your behalf, my recommendations to your grateful country, and my prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done *you* here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favors, both here and hereafter, attend those, who, under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, your commander-in-chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed for ever."

To prevent every disorder which might otherwise ensue, on the day appointed for the evacuation of New York, the American troops, under the command of general Knox, marched from Haerlem to the Bowery lane in the morning. At one o'clock the British troops retired from the posts in the Bowery, and the Americans marched forward and took possession of the city.

When this was effected, general Knox and a number of citizens, on horseback, rode to the Bowery to receive their excellencies, general Washington and governor Clinton, who, with their suites, made their public entry into the city, followed by the lieutenant-governor, and the members of the council, which had been appointed for the temporary government of the southern district, general Knox, and the officers of the army, citizens on horseback, the speaker of the assembly, and citizens on foot. The governor gave a public dinner, at which the commander-in-chief, and other general officers, were present. The arrangements were so well made and executed, that the most admirable tranquillity succeeded through the day and night. On Monday, the governor gave an elegant entertainment to the French ambassador, chevalier de la Luzerne. General Washington, and the principal officers of the army and state of New York, were present. On the evening of Tuesday, magnificent fireworks were exhibited at the Bowling-green, in celebration of the definitive treaty of peace. They were commenced by a dove descending with the olive-branch, and setting fire to a marron battery.

The period now approached at which it became necessary for the American chief to take leave of his officers, who had been endeared to him by a long series of common sufferings and dangers. This was done in a solemn manner. The officers having previously assembled for the purpose, general Washington joined them, and, calling for a glass of wine, thus addressed them:—"With an heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drank, he added—"I cannot come to each of you, to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you, if each of you will come and take me by the hand." General Knox, being next, turned to him. Incapable of utterance, Washington grasped his hand, and embraced him. The officers came up successively, and he took an affectionate leave of each of them. Not a word was articulated on either side. A majestic silence prevailed. The tear of sensibility glistened in every eye. The tenderness of the scene exceeded all description. When the last of the

HISTORY OF NEW YORK.

officers had taken his leave, Washington left the room, and passed through the corps of light-infantry, to the place of embarkation. The officers followed in a solemn, mute procession, with dejected countenances. On his entering the barge to cross the North river, he turned towards the companions of his glory, and, by waving his hat, bid them a silent adieu. Some of them answered this last signal of respect and affection with tears; and all of them hung upon the barge which conveyed him from their sight, till they could no longer distinguish in it the person of their beloved commander-in-chief.

The army being disbanded, Washington proceeded to Annapolis, then the seat of congress, to resign his commission. On his way thither, he, of his own accord, delivered to the comptroller of accounts in Philadelphia, an account of the expenditure of all the public money he had ever received. This was in his own hand writing, and every entry was made in a very particular manner. Vouchers were produced for every item, except for secret intelligence and service, which amounted to no more than £1,982 10s sterling. The whole, which, in the course of eight years of war, had passed through his hands, amounted only to £14,479 18s 9d sterling. Nothing was charged or retained for personal services; and actual disbursements had been managed with such economy and fidelity, that they were all covered by the above moderate sum.

After accounting for all his expenditures of public money, (secret service money for obvious reasons excepted,) with all the exactness which established forms required from the inferior officers of his army, he hastened to resign into the hands of the fathers of his country, the powers with which they had invested him. This was done in a public audience. Congress received him as the founder and guardian of the republic. While he appeared before them, they silently retraced the scenes of danger and distress through which they had passed together. They recalled to mind the blessings of freedom and peace purchased by his arm. They gazed with wonder on their fellow-citizen, who appeared more great and worthy of esteem in resigning his power, than he had done in gloriously using it. Every heart was big with emotion. Tears of

admiration and gratitude burst from every eye. The general sympathy was felt by the resigning hero, and wet his cheek with a manly tear. After a decent pause, he addressed Thomas Mifflin, the president of congress, in the following words :—

“ MR. PRESIDENT,

“ The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

“ Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

“ The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“ While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend, in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of congress.

“ I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commanding the interests of our dearest country to the protection of almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

“ Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action ; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

This address being ended, general Washington advanced, and delivered his commission into the hands of the president of congress, who replied as follows :—

“ The United States in congress assembled receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and doubtful war.

“ Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

“ You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in safety, freedom and independence ; on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations.

“ Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world ; having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens ; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command ; it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interest of those confidential officers who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

"We join you in commanding the interests of our dearest country to the protection of almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation; and for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

During this affecting scene, neither Washington nor the president of congress were fully able to preserve their powers of utterance. The mingled emotions that agitated the minds of the spectators were indescribable. After having, by his own voluntary act, resigned his commission, the American chief hastened to his seat at Mount Vernon; to the bosom of his family, and the delights of domestic life.

To pass suddenly from the toils of the first commission in the United States to the care of a farm; to exchange the instruments of war for the implements of husbandry; and to become at once the patron and example of ingenious agriculture, would to most men have been a difficult task. But to the elevated mind of Washington, it was natural and delightful. From his example, let the commanders of armies learn, that the fame which is acquired by the sword, without guilt or ambition, may be preserved without power or splendor in private life.*

* Ramsay.

CHAP. XIV.

FROM 1783 TO 1812.

*Condition of the Country at the Close of the War
Organization of the General Government. Internal Concerns of the State. Settlement of the Vermont Controversy. Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Civil Policy. Attention of the Legislature directed to the Subject of Internal Navigation.*

SEC. I. The Americans had, for eight years, been subjected to the miseries of a devastating war in their attempts to break the yoke of foreign oppression, and to establish a free and independent government. They had been sustained, during this arduous contest, by high hopes of future prosperity, and had anticipated, in the attainment of this object, every other political blessing, as its natural attendant. The object was accomplished, and *Thirteen Independent States* arose from the British American Colonies. It now remained for them to test, by experience, the excellence and permanence of their new institutions.

A short period was, however, sufficient to evince the weakness of the existing system, and its incompetence to subserve the great objects for which it was instituted. The authority of the federal government was found to be too limited to sustain, in a proper manner, the ex-

ternal relations of the country, and wholly inadequate to regulate and control the local and conflicting interests of the separate states.

At the termination of the war, the debts of the Union amounted to more than forty millions of dollars. Congress, though authorized by the articles of confederation to borrow money and issue bills of credit, had not the ability to redeem those bills, or the powers requisite for raising a revenue. After an ineffectual attempt to obtain this power from the several states, even the interest of the public debt remained unpaid, and the public credit was in great measure destroyed.

The restrictions imposed by Great Britain on the trade with the West Indies began seriously to affect the commercial interests of the United States. Congress had not the power to retaliate by passing similar acts against Great Britain, nor would the separate states, always jealous of each other, concur in any measure to compel that government to relax. These embarrassments tended to hasten a radical change in the political system of the United States.

SEC. II. In 1787,* commissioners from all the states of the Union, excepting Rhode Island, assembled at Philadelphia, for the purpose of revising the federal system. The NEW FEDERAL CONSTITUTION was presented to congress on the 17th of September, and soon after sent to the several states for their consideration. It was adopted by the convention of the state of New York, the following year, by a majority of thirty to twenty-five votes.

The convention for revising the constitution resolved, that, as soon as nine states should have ratified it, it should be carried into operation by congress. After much opposition, it was (1788) ratified by the conventions of eleven states. North Carolina and Rhode Island, at first, refused their assent,

* May 10th.

but afterwards acceded to it; the former, November, 1789; the latter, May, 1790.*

SEC. III. The more perfect organization of the federal system gave a new aspect to the political affairs of the country. Strength and unanimity now took the place of weakness and disorder. A constitution of more ample powers gave new vigor and efficacy to the measures of the general government, and prepared the way for that unexampled prosperity, which has characterized every subsequent period of our national annals.

The first congress, under the new constitution, consisting of delegates from eleven states, was convened at New York, in 1789. General George Washington was found to have been elected, by the unanimous suffrages of the citizens, to the office of president of the United States.

During Washington's administration, the people of the United States began to divide themselves into two great parties, according to the different opinions entertained relative to the measures pursued by the general government. Those friendly to the views of the administration were termed *federalists*; and those opposed to them, *republicans*. In 1797, Washington retired from the office of president, and John Adams was elected as his successor. The parties now became more fully developed, party feeling became general, and party measures were prosecuted with great animosity. The federalists maintained the ascendancy until towards the close of Mr. Adams's administration, when the republicans predominated.

SEC. IV. 1788. A general organization act was passed by the legislature, dividing the state into fourteen counties, which were subdivided into townships. The same success, which, at

* See Appendix, No. 3.

this and subsequent periods, characterized the general administration, also attended the internal affairs of the state. The government was happily administered, and the general interests of the community began to assume the most promising appearance.

On the termination of the revolutionary contest, the inhabitants, no longer engaged in the defence of the country, or exposed to the depredations of the enemy, directed their attention to the pursuits of agriculture, and the arts of peace. By their industry and enterprise, they made rapid advances in repairing the losses which had been sustained during that protracted and desolating war. The increase of wealth, the improvements everywhere apparent, the rapid extension of the settlements, and the general aspect of plenty and prosperity, that pervaded the state, sufficiently evinced the success that attended their exertions.

During the revolution, a considerable portion of the state was in the possession of the enemy, and many of its most fertile tracts constantly exposed to their depredations. Many of the new settlements were entirely broken up. On the return of peace, these were resumed, and many others commenced, which progressed with astonishing rapidity.

In 1785, the district comprehended between the Oneida reservation, and the Mohawk river above the German Flats, and subsequently divided into the townships of Whites-town Paris and Westmoreland, contained but two families. In 1796, there were six parishes, which contained three full regiments of militia, and one corps of light horse.*

Commerce, which, in common with other pur-

* See Appendix, No. 4.

suits had been interrupted during the war, experienced a rapid revival on the return of peace.

The Empress of China, a ship of 360 tons, the first vessel from the United States to China, sailed from New York in February, 1784, for Canton, and returned the following year.

SEC. V. The controversy relative to the New Hampshire grants still continued to agitate the eastern part of the state. Frequent applications had been made by both parties to the general congress, for the interference of that body, but without obtaining any decisive result. In 1789, the legislature passed an act for the purpose of settling this controversy, and acknowledging the territory as an independent state. Commissioners were mutually appointed, and, in 1790, the subject was brought to an amicable adjustment. The new state was, in 1791, recognised by congress, and admitted into the Union, with the name of Vermont.

It was stipulated that Vermont should pay the sum of thirty thousand dollars to the state of New York; and that all claim of jurisdiction of the state of New York, and all rights and titles to lands within the state of Vermont, under grants from the colony or state of New York, should cease; and thenceforth the perpetual boundary line between the state of New York and the state of Vermont should be, as then held and possessed, viz.: the west lines of the most western towns, which had been granted by New Hampshire, and the middle channel of lake Champlain.

SEC. VI. The inhabitants of New York now began to direct their attention to the more scientific pursuit of agriculture and the arts. The "Society for the promotion of Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures," was established in 1791.

During the same year, a joint committee was appointed from the senate and assembly to make inquiries relative to the obstructions in the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, and the most eligible method of removing them. An act, incorporating the Northern and Western Inland Lock Navigation Companies, was passed the following year. The object of the former was to open a lock navigation from the Hudson to the head of lake Champlain, the latter to open a similar communication, through the valley of the Mohawk, between the Hudson and the Ontario and Seneca lakes. Both companies were soon after organized, and commenced operations.

The committee of 1791 reported it as their opinion, that the commissioners of the land office should be authorized to make proposals to such persons, or association of persons, as will contract to open a water communication between the Mohawk river and Wood creek, with power to grant such person or persons an exclusive right to the profits of a reasonable toll on the canal, when so opened, for a limited term of years.

Pursuant to the report, a bill, entitled, "An act for opening communications between Wood creek and the Mohawk river, and between lake Champlain and Hudson's river, and for removing obstructions in the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, was brought into the house of assembly, and became a law, under the title of "An act concerning roads and inland navigation, and for other purposes." By this law, the commissioners of the land office were authorized to cause a survey to be made between the Mohawk river, at or near fort Stanwix, and the Wood creek in the county of Herkimer, and also between the Hudson river and the Wood creek in the county of Washington ; and to cause an estimate to be made of the probable expense that would attend the making of canals sufficient for loaded boats to pass, and to report the same to

the legislature at their next meeting. A sum not exceeding \$250 was appropriated for defraying the expense of the service. The commissioners caused the surveys to be made, and reported that the above communications were not only practicable, but attainable at a very moderate expense, when put in competition with their advantages and importance to the state.

The companies, incorporated by the act of 1792, sent to England to obtain a scientific and practical engineer, and, on his arrival, caused a survey to be made from the tide-waters of the Hudson to Oswego, on lake Ontario. The Western Inland Lock Navigation Company soon after commenced three short canals on the Mohawk. The first was at Little Falls; the second, at German Flats; the third, at Rome, connecting the Mohawk river with Wood creek. Each of these canals was about one mile in length, and had several locks. Dams and locks were constructed on Wood creek, to overcome the obstructions in that stream. These works were completed in 1802.

SEC. VII. The business of manufacture had been commenced during the revolution, and considerable progress had been made; but, on the return of peace, owing to the excessive importation of foreign articles, it was mostly abandoned. The commerce of the state had been rapidly increasing, and was now in the most prosperous condition.

In 1791, the exports to foreign ports amounted to above \$2,500,000. In 1793, 683 foreign vessels, and 1381 coasting vessels, entered the port of New York.

SEC. VIII. 1795. Mr. Clinton, after having for 18 years discharged the office of governor with talents and fidelity, published an address to the freeholders of the state, stating that his respect for the republican principle of rotation in office would no longer permit him to fill his re-

cent honorable station. He was succeeded by Mr. Jay, who was continued in that office till 1801, when Mr. Clinton again accepted a re-election.

This period is distinguished only by the general and almost unrivalled prosperity, that attended the public and private concerns of the community ; and its history would be little more than a detail of the successful pursuit of the various avocations of civil life. The passing of laws for regulating the general and local interests of society, the granting of lands, and organizing the new settlements, comprised the usual and ordinary business of the government.

In 1796, the legislature passed an act, granting an annuity of \$5552 to the Oneida Indians, in lieu of all former stipulations, for lands purchased in 1795 ; \$2300 to the Cayugas, and \$2000 to the Onondagas. An act was also passed for the relief of Indians, who were entitled to land in Brothertown. A general organization act, dividing the state into 30 counties, was passed in 1801.

SEC. IX. 1804. Mr. Clinton having been elected vice-president of the United States, Morgan Lewis was chosen to succeed him as governor of New York. Mr. Lewis was succeeded by Daniel D. Tompkins in 1807. Albany was the same year made the capital of the state.

The contest between the two great parties, into which the country was divided, was still continued, and party feeling abated none of its violence. The measures of the general government, and the appointment of civil officers, constituted the usual subjects of controversy. In 1800, the republican party in New York obtained the ascendancy. After a warmly contested election Thomas Jefferson, the republican candidate,

was chosen president of the United States in 1801. During his administration, commenced the series of encroachments on the American commerce by the British, which resulted in a war with that country in 1812. Mr. Jefferson retired from the office of president in 1809, and was succeeded by James Madison.

SEC. X. 1810. An act was passed by the legislature, "for exploring the route of an inland navigation from Hudson's river to lake Ontario and lake Erie;" commissioners were appointed for this purpose, who made report the following year. The subject now began to excite very general interest, and, a bill being introduced by Mr. Clinton, an act was passed, "to provide for the improvement of the internal navigation of the state." Commissioners were again appointed, and authorized to solicit assistance from the congress of the United States.

The commissioners appointed De Witt Clinton and Gouverneur Morris to lay the subject before the general government. They proceeded to Washington, exhibited their credentials, and presented a memorial to congress; but were unsuccessful in their application to that body for assistance. In March, 1812, the commissioners again made report to the legislature, and insisted that, *now*, sound policy imperatively demanded, that the canal should be made by the state, and, for her own account, as soon as circumstances would permit. The subject was, however, soon after suspended* by the breaking out of the war with Great Britain.

* An act to this effect was passed on the report of the commissioners in 1814.

The Western Inland Navigation Company, incorporated in 1792, had confined their views to the improvement of the navigation of the Mohawk river, the Oneida lake, and Seneca river as far as the Seneca lake. In 1795, the country was explored, under the direction of the company, as far west as the Seneca lake, and a report made, stating the practicability of considerable improvement in the navigation by connecting those waters. The funds of the company, however, limited their operations to the improvements on the Mohawk river and Wood creek.

The subject remained in this posture until 1808, when Joshua Forman, esq., a member of the legislature from Onondaga, made a motion in the assembly for a survey to be made, under the surveyor-general, between lake Erie, and Hudson river, in order to ascertain the practicability of connecting the several waters. The resolution was adopted, and a survey was accordingly made. Several different routes were explored under the direction of the surveyor-general, who made report, the following year, stating "that a canal from lake Erie to the Hudson river was not only practicable, but practicable with uncommon facility."

In 1810, as before stated, the attention of the legislature was again called to the subject, and the resolution for causing the survey to be made passed unanimously. The whole route was again explored during the summer, and several more accurate surveys made the following year, the result of which was highly favorable to the prosecution of the enterprise. In the reports of the commissioners, the practicability of a canal navigation from the Hudson to lake Erie, and the immense advantages which would result from the accomplishment of this object, were fully demonstrated. The public attention was aroused, and the importance of the work began to be in some measure appreciated.

In their report of 1812, the commissioners estimate the expense of the undertaking at \$6,000,000, and affirm, as the result of their calculations, that, should the canal cost even \$10,000,000, the revenue which would accrue from it would soon discharge the interest, and, very soon afterwards, by natural and necessary increase, discharge the principal.

After adverting to the future importance of this work, they prophetically observe: "Even when, by the flow of that perpetual stream which bears all human institutions away, our constitution shall be dissolved, and our laws be lost, still the descendants of our children's children will remain.—The same mountains will stand, the same rivers run.—New moral combinations will be founded on the old physical foundations, and the extended line of remote posterity, after a lapse of 2000 years, and the ravage of repeated revolutions, when the records of history shall have been obliterated, and the tongue of tradition have converted (as in China) the shadowy remembrance of ancient events into childish tales of miracle, this national work shall remain. It shall bear testimony to the genius, the learning, the industry and the intelligence of the present age."

Soon after this report was presented, an act was passed by the legislature, authorizing the commissioners, upon such terms and conditions as they should deem reasonable, to purchase, in behalf of the state, all the rights, interest and estate of the "Western Inland Navigation Company," and to take charge of the same. An act was also passed, authorizing the commissioners to borrow \$5,000,000, in behalf of the state, for the prosecution of the canal. This act was, however, repealed in 1814.

CHAP. XV.

WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

War declared. Preparation for the Invasion of Canada. Battle of Queenstown. Capture of York and Fort George. Operations on the Lakes. Battles of Bridgewater, Chippewa and Plattsburg. Termination of the War. Commencement and Completion of the Northern and Erie Canals.

SEC. I. 1812. The encroachment of the British upon the maritime rights of the Americans had, for some time, been a subject of controversy between the two countries. After repeated negotiations, in which no satisfactory concessions had been made by the British government, the depredations on the American commerce were still continued. At this crisis, the committee on foreign relations made report in concurrence with the message of the president, recommending, as the last resort for the defence of their rights, an appeal to arms. A bill for the declaration of war with Great Britain was accordingly introduced,* and, after having passed both houses of congress, received the signature of the president on the 18th of June. Preparations were immediately made for the commencement of hostilities.

* The bill was passed by the house of representatives on the 4th, and by the senate on the 17th.

"The grounds of the war, as set forth in the president's message to congress, were—The impressment of American seamen by the British; the blockade of her enemies' ports, supported by no adequate forces, in consequence of which the American commerce had been plundered in every sea, and the great staples of the country cut off from their legitimate markets; and the British orders in council."

"The right of search" constituted an important point of controversy. Great Britain claimed, among her prerogatives, to take her native born subjects for her navy, wherever found, and of searching American vessels for this purpose. Native born British subjects, who had voluntarily enlisted on board our vessels, were frequently seized by the officers of the British navy; and, under color of seizing their own subjects, thousands of American seamen were impressed into the British service.

"Great Britain and France were, at this time, at war with each other, and had involved most of the European powers in their controversies. In 1806, the British government issued an order in council, declaring the ports and rivers from the Elbe to Brest to be in a state of blockade. By this order, all American vessels trading to these and intervening ports were liable to seizure and condemnation. The French soon after issued the '*Berlin Decree*,' by which all the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade, and all intercourse with them prohibited. In January, 1807, the British government issued an order in council, prohibiting all coasting trade with France; and, in November, the celebrated *British orders in council*, prohibiting all commercial intercourse with France and her allies, all nations at war with Great Britain, and all places from which the British flag was excluded. This was retaliated, on the part of France, in December, by the '*Milan Decree*,' declaring every vessel denationalized which shall have submitted to a search by a British ship, and every vessel a good prize which should sail to or from Great Britain, or any of its colonies, or countries occupied by British troops.'

While America was endeavoring to maintain a neutrality, and continue her commerce with the belligerents, they continued to array against each other these violent commercial

edicts, in direct violation of the law of nations, and the most solemn treaties. In consequence of these edicts, the British and French cruisers were let loose upon the American commerce, by whom a large number of our merchantmen were captured, and an immense amount of American property seized and condemned.

In December, congress passed an act, laying an embargo on all vessels within the jurisdiction of the United States. This measure failing to coerce the belligerents into an acknowledgment of our rights, an act was passed, March following, by which all trade and intercourse with France and England were prohibited. This was retaliated, on the part of France, the following year, by the 'Rambouillet decree,' ordering all American vessels and cargoes, arriving in any of the ports of France, or countries occupied by French troops, to be seized and condemned.

Congress, May following, passed an act excluding British and French armed vessels from the waters of the United States; but providing that, in case either of these nations should modify its edicts before the 3d of March, 1811, so that they should cease to violate neutral commerce, commercial intercourse with such nation might be renewed. In consequence of this act, official intelligence was soon after received by the American government, that the French decrees were revoked.

No concessions were, however, made on the part of Great Britain, and her orders in council were still rigidly enforced. While affairs were in this posture, an encounter took place, May, 1811, between the American frigate President, commanded by captain Rogers, and the British sloop of war Little Belt, commanded by captain Bingham, in which the latter suffered severely in her men and rigging. The attack was commenced by the Little Belt, without previous provocation or justifiable cause. War now appeared to be the only alternative; and congress, having been assembled by proclamation in November, proceeded, in accordance with the recommendation of the president, to pass bills preparatory to a state of hostilities.

The opinions of congress, and of the people of the United States, were much at variance on the policy and expediency of the war. By the friends of the existing administration, constituting the *republican* party, the measure was warmly supported, and the war declared to be unavoidable and just. By the *federal* party it was as warmly opposed, and declared to be impolitic, unnecessary and unjust. The federal party, at this time constituting the minority in congress, entered their solemn protest against it.

The commencement of the war was unfortunately signalized by the surrender of Detroit, with about 2500 men, to the enemy. General Hull, the commander, was charged with treason, cowardice, and unofficerlike conduct, and tried before a court-martial. On the first charge, the court declined giving an opinion; on the two last, he was sentenced to death. The sentence was, however, remitted by the president.

SEC. II. The attention of the Americans was early directed to the invasion of Canada, and troops, to the number of 8 or 10,000, were collected along the line for this purpose. They were distributed into three divisions—the north-western army, under general Harrison; the army of the centre, under general Stephen Van Rensselaer, at Lewistown; and the army of the north, in the vicinity of Plattsburg, under general Dearborn, the commander-in-chief. Great exertions were also made for preparing a naval force upon the lakes, the command of which was intrusted to commodore Chauncey.

After the surrender of Detroit, the Americans had but one vessel of war on these waters, the Oneida, of 16 guns, on lake Ontario, commanded by lieutenant Woolsey. Commodore Chauncey, with a body of seamen, arrived at Sackett's Harbor about the first of October, and several schooners, which had been employed as traders on the lake, were immediately purchased and fitted out as vessels of war. Lieutenant

Elliot was despatched to Black Rock to make arrangements there for building a naval force superior to that of the enemy on lake Erie. Soon after his arrival, an opportunity was offered for a display of the most determined heroism.

On the 8th of October, two British vessels, the Detroit, late the United States brig Adams, and the brig Caledonia, came down the lake from Malden, and anchored under the guns of fort Erie, situated nearly opposite Black Rock. Elliot immediately determined to make an attack, and, if possible, get possession of them, and accordingly despatched an express to hasten the arrival of some sailors who were hourly expected. They arrived about noon, 50 in number, and were allowed only till midnight to refresh themselves, when, being reinforced by 50 of the regular land-forces, they put off from the mouth of Buffalo creek, in two boats, with lieutenant Elliot at their head.

Having rowed into the lake above the vessels, they drifted down with the current, till they were hailed by a sentinel on board one of them, when they instantly sprang to their oars, and, closing in upon the vessels, they jumped on board, drove the British below, and, in 10 minutes from their getting along side, the prisoners were all secured, and the vessels under way.

Unfortunately, the wind was not sufficiently strong to carry them up against the current into the lake, and both ran aground. The Caledonia, however, was beached under the protection of one of the batteries at Black Rock, but the Detroit lay near the head of the island in the middle of the river, exposed to the batteries and flying artillery of the enemy. The Americans returned their fire from the Detroit; but, finding they could not bring their guns to bear with advantage, the prisoners were all got on shore, and the brig deserted. During the day, several unsuccessful attempts were made by the British to board and destroy the military stores in the Detroit, but they were mostly secured by the Americans, after which she was set on fire and abandoned. The loss of the Americans, in this enterprise, was only two killed, and four wounded.*

SEC. III. On the 13th of October, a detachment from the army of the centre, consisting of about 1000 men, crossed the Niagara river, and attacked the British on the heights of Queenstown. They succeeded in dislodging the enemy, but, not being reinforced from the American side, as was expected, were afterwards repulsed, and compelled to surrender.

The troops destined for this expedition, having been assembled at Lewistown the preceding evening, began to embark, at the dawn of day, under cover of a battery mounting two eighteen pounders and two sixes. To accomplish their landing, they had only 12 boats, each capable of containing 20 men. Their movements were soon discovered by the enemy, and a brisk fire of musketry was poured from the whole line of the Canada shore, aided by three batteries. Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer effected the first landing in the face of this tremendous fire with only 100 men. Though severely wounded, the moment he leaped from the boat, he formed his men in a masterly manner, and commanded his officers to move on. They soon succeeded in gaining the heights, and, reinforcements arriving, the forts were stormed, and the enemy driven down the hill in every direction.

Both parties were now reinforced, the Americans by regulars and militia, the British by 600 regulars under general Brock. The contest was renewed, and, after a desperate engagement, the enemy were repulsed. General Brock and his aid, captain M'Donald, fell about the same instant. General Stephen Van Rensselaer now crossed over, for the purpose of fortifying the heights preparatory to another attack.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy, being reinforced by several hundred Indians, again advanced, and were a third time repulsed. General Van Rensselaer now recrossed the river, and made an attempt to obtain the assistance of the militia, who were collecting on the opposite side, but was unsuccessful. The militia, dismayed by the view of the contest from the opposite side, absolutely refused to embark

The British, in the meantime, were reinforced by 800 soldiers from fort George, and renewed the attack. Finding it impracticable to obtain the necessary reinforcements, the general ordered a retreat ; but, unfortunately, the boats were dispersed, and many of the boatmen had fled. The Americans, for a time, continued to struggle against the superior force of the enemy, but were finally compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The loss of the Americans in killed was about 60 ; in wounded and taken prisoners, about 700 ;—that of the enemy is unknown, but must have been severe.

General Van Rensselaer soon after resigned the command, which devolved on general Smyth, who, the last of November, projected another expedition, which was to have sailed from Buffalo. This expedition, however, failed from the same cause which occasioned the misfortune at Queenstown—the refusal of the militia to cross the lines.

The operations of the war, the present year, were distinguished by several splendid naval achievements. About the middle of August, the British frigate Guerriere, commanded by captain Dacres, was captured by the United States frigate Constitution, commanded by captain Isaac Hull. On the 17th of October, the enemy's brig Frolic was captured by the American sloop of war Wasp. Both of these vessels were, however, taken the same day by the Poictiers, a British 74. On the 25th, the frigate United States, of 44 guns, commanded by commodore Decatur, captured the Macedonian, a frigate of 49 guns. On the 29th of December, the Constitution, then commanded by commodore Bainbridge, captured the British frigate Java, commanded by captain Lambert. During the winter of 1813, an engagement took place, off South America, between the Hornet, commanded by captain Lawrence, and the British sloop of war Peacock. After an action of but 15 minutes, the Peacock was compelled to surrender.

SEC. IV. 1813. In January, the Americans, under general Winchester, sustained a severe defeat from the British, under general Proctor, at the river Raisin. During the winter, the operations

of the war on the New York frontier were mostly suspended. Some skirmishing took place along the St. Lawrence; but the opposing enemies being divided by a barrier of ice, not sufficiently strong to admit of the transportation of artillery, no enterprise of any importance was attempted.

In February, intelligence was received at Ogdensburg, that several men, who had deserted from the opposite shore on the ice, had been taken on the American side by a party of the British, and carried off and confined in the jail at Brockville. Captain Forsythe, the commander at Ogdensburg, crossed over with about 200 militia and riflemen, for the purpose of retaking the prisoners, and capturing the military stores at Brockville. On their arrival, they were fired upon by the sentinels, but, instead of returning it, they rushed through the main street to the jail, which was instantly carried, and the prisoners liberated. After capturing about 50 prisoners, and a small quantity of military stores, they returned without loss.

The following evening, a small party of Indians crossed over, and made an attack upon the guard belonging to Forsythe's company, but were repulsed. On the 22d. the enemy crossed over in considerable force, and succeeded in capturing Ogdensburg. Forsythe effected a safe retreat before a superior force to Black Lake. Some alarm was excited for the safety of Sackett's Harbor, but immediate measures were taken for its defence. No attempts were, however, made at further conquest, and the British, shortly after, retired across the St. Lawrence.

SEC. V. In April, general Dearborn made dispositions for a descent upon York, the capital of Upper Canada. A successful attack was made on the 27th, and the place, with large quantities of military stores, fell into the hands of the Americans.

The enterprise was committed to a detachment of 1700

troops, under general Pike. The fleet, under commodore Chauncey, with the troops from Sackett's Harbor, moved down the lake, and, on the 27th, arrived one and a half miles from the enemy's works. The British, consisting of about 750 regulars, and 500 Indians, under general Sheaffe, attempted to oppose the landing, but were thrown into confusion, and fled to their garrison.

The Americans advanced; but, on their approach to the barracks, an explosion of a magazine, previously prepared for that purpose, took place, which killed about 100 men, among whom was the gallant Pike. He lived, however, to direct his troops, thrown into a momentary confusion, "to move on." They advanced, under colonel Pearce, towards the town, and took possession of the barracks, when they were met by the officers of the Canada militia, with offers of capitulation. At four o'clock, the troops entered the town.

The British lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, 750 men; the Americans, in killed and wounded, about 300. Early in May, the place was evacuated, and the fleet moved to Four Mile Creek, below fort Niagara, where the troops were landed, and a detachment of 100 men, with two schooners, sent to the head of the lake to seize a quantity of public stores. The stores were guarded by about 80 regulars, who were soon put to flight. The stores were brought away, the public buildings burnt, and the expedition returned, without loss, to fort Niagara. Commodore Chauncey soon after sailed for Sackett's Harbor, to obtain reinforcements.

SEC. VI. Commodore Chauncey having returned with the fleet to fort Niagara, it was immediately resolved to make a descent upon fort George, situated on the opposite shore. An attack was made on the 27th of May, and, after a short contest, the place fell into the hands of the Americans.

The troops having been embarked, the fleet stood out early in the morning, and took a favorable position for annoying the enemy's batteries, and to cover the landing of the troops. In

10 minutes after the schooners opened upon the batteries, they were completely silenced and abandoned. The troops then landed near a fort which had been silenced at Two Mile Creek. Immediately on their landing, the enemy, who had been concealed in a ravine, advanced in great force to the edge of the bank, in order to charge them; but the schooners opened so heavy and well-directed a fire, that they were compelled to retreat. The troops, in the mean time, formed, and, ascending the bank, immediately charged the enemy, who were routed and put to flight in every direction. The British now re-entered fort George, and, having set fire to their magazines, moved off rapidly towards Queenstown. They were pursued by the light troops for several miles, when, becoming exhausted through fatigue, they returned to fort George.

The loss of the Americans in this enterprise was 39 killed, and 111 wounded; that of the enemy, 108 killed, and 278 taken prisoners, of whom 163 were wounded. The number of militia paroled by general Dearborn was 507. The British garrison at fort Erie, soon after, blew up their magazine, and retreated.

On the 23d of June, general Dearborn despatched lieutenant-colonel Boerstler, with 570 men, to Beaver Dam, to disperse a body of the enemy. When within about two miles of that place, he was attacked from an ambuscade, but soon drove the enemy some distance into the woods. He then retired into a clear field, and sent an express for a reinforcement. Three hundred men were immediately marched to his relief, but, before their arrival, Boerstler had surrendered.

SEC. VII. During these operations of the Americans, several enterprises were undertaken by the enemy. About the last of May, a detachment of 1000 of the British, under sir George Prevost, made an attack upon Sackett's Harbor, but were repulsed with considerable loss.

The American loss in this attack was 21 killed, 84 wounded, and 26 missing, of the regulars and volunteers; of the militia, 25 were killed, wounded and missing. The enemy

had 29 killed, 22 wounded, 35 taken prisoners; in addition, many were killed in the boats while effecting their landing, and a number carried off the field previous to the commencement of their retreat.

On the 19th of June, the British landed and burnt Sodus, where a quantity of provisions was deposited, and, on the following day, made an unsuccessful attempt to land at Oswego. On the 2d of July, another unsuccessful attempt was made at Sackett's Harbor. On the 11th, a party of the enemy crossed over at Black Rock, and succeeded in carrying off a quantity of stores. Several enterprises were likewise conducted by the enemy on lake Erie.

During the spring of the present year, New York was blockaded by the enemy. At the south, Chesapeake Bay was blockaded, and some predatory excursions made on the coast. On the 1st of June, an action took place between the British frigate Shannon and the Chesapeake, commanded by captain Lawrence, in which the latter was compelled to surrender, her commander being mortally wounded. In August, the Argus, an American vessel, was captured by the Pelican. In September, success again returned to the Americans, and the British brig Boxer was captured by the Enterprise after a short but obstinate engagement.*

SEC. VIII. On the 10th of September, an engagement took place between the American fleet, under commodore Perry, and that of the British, on lake Erie. After a long and desperate conflict, the Americans obtained a decisive victory.

The American squadron consisted of nine vessels, carrying 54 guns; that of the British, of six vessels, and 63 guns. The line of battle was formed at eleven; and, a quarter before twelve, the enemy's flag-ship, Queen Charlotte, opened a tremendous fire upon the Lawrence, flag-ship of commodore Perry, which was sustained by the latter 10 minutes before she could bring her carronades to bear. At length she bore

* Historical Register.

up, and engaged the enemy; but the wind was too light to permit the other vessels to support her, and she was compelled to contend for two hours with two ships of equal force. By this time, the brig became unmanageable, and, most of the crew being either killed or wounded, Perry abandoned her, and passed unhurt to the Niagara.

The wind now rose, and, spreading every canvass, he bore down upon the enemy. The remainder of the American squadron, one after another, arrived, closed in with the enemy, and the action became general. Three hours finished the contest, and Perry announced the capture of the whole squadron to general Harrison in this laconic style: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." The Americans had 27 killed and 96 wounded; the British lost, in killed, wounded and taken prisoners, about 800.

SEC. IX. The operations on lake Ontario were less decisive. During the latter part of summer and autumn, frequent skirmishes took place, but no important advantage was obtained by either party.

The British had a powerful naval force on lake Ontario, at this time commanded by commodore Yeo, and had thus far held the entire control of the lake. After great exertions, commodore Chauncey had succeeded in preparing a fleet nearly equal to that of the enemy, and sailed from Sackett's Harbor about the middle of July. His movements were, however, much embarrassed by the heavy sailing of his vessels. He made several attempts to bring the enemy to an engagement, but, by their superior sailing, they escaped from his pursuit.

The two squadrons had a running fight on the 11th of September, in which the enemy sustained considerable damage, both in men and vessels. After being for some days blockaded at Duck Island, they escaped to Kingston, and commodore Chauncey returned to Sackett's Harbor. On the 5th of October, Chauncey discovered seven sail of the enemy, near the False Ducks, and immediately gave chase. The enemy, soon after, set fire to, and abandoned, one of their

vessels; and five others were compelled to surrender, with about 300 prisoners of war. The captured vessels proved to be transports from York, with troops, bound to Kingston.

SEC. X. Soon after the capture of the enemy's fleet on lake Erie, Detroit fell into the hands of the Americans, and great preparations were made for the conquest of Montreal. This object was to be accomplished by two divisions, under generals Wilkinson and Hampton, who were to effect a junction on the St. Lawrence. The division under Wilkinson moved down the river early in November. On the 11th, a severe but indecisive engagement took place between a detachment of the Americans, under general Boyd, and a detachment of the enemy, under lieutenant-colonel Morrison, at Williamsburg. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was above 300; that of the enemy was unknown.

The force of the Americans, in this action, consisted of indefinite detachments from the boats, and consequently it is impossible to give an accurate statement of the number on the field. They were estimated at from 1600 to 1700 men. The force of the enemy was estimated at from 1200 to 2000, exclusive of militia. Both parties claimed the victory in this battle; the British, because they captured a piece of cannon, and because the Americans retired from the battle-ground; the Americans, because they fully accomplished their object, in beating back the enemy, who was harassing them in their progress down the river. The British account states, that they took 100 prisoners, of which no mention is made by the Americans.*

SEC. XI. General Hampton made a short

incursion into Canada ; but, owing to some mis-understanding between the two commanders, no junction was effected. The enterprise against Montreal was soon after abandoned, and the troops retired to winter quarters at French Mills, in the vicinity of St. Regis. Fort George was evacuated by the Americans about the middle of December. The fortress was blown up, and the town of Newark, situated a mile below, and containing about 200 houses, was laid in ashes.

SEC. XII. On the 19th of December, the British crossed over above fort Niagara, and succeeded in taking the place by storm. The attack was made about 4 o'clock in the morning, and the garrison were completely surprised. Such as escaped the fury of the first onset made some ineffectual resistance, but were soon compelled to surrender.

After the capture of the fort, the British proceeded up the river, and, having driven off a detachment of militia stationed at Lewistown Heights, burned that village and those of Youngstown, Manchester, and the Indian Tuscarora. On the 30th, another detachment of the British crossed over near Black Rock. They were opposed by the militia under general Hall ; but, overpowered by the numbers and discipline of the enemy, the militia soon gave way, and were totally routed. Having set fire to Black Rock, the enemy advanced to Buffalo, and, by the burning of that place, completed the desolation of the Niagara frontier.

SEC. XIII. 1814. Fort Erie was taken by the Americans early in July, and, during the same month, sanguinary battles were fought at Chippewa and Bridgewater. On the 14th of August, the British made an attempt to regain possession of fort Erie. After a severe engagement, they were repulsed with the loss of 600 in killed, wounded and prisoners. The loss of the Americans was about 240.

In the battle of Bridgewater, or Niagara, the Americans were commanded by generals Brown and Scott; the British by generals Drummond and Riall. The battle commenced at 4 o'clock, P. M., and continued till midnight. The British were compelled to retire with the loss of 900 in killed, wounded and prisoners. The loss of the Americans did not exceed 100.

SEC. XIV. Sir George Prevost, with an army of 14,000 men, made a descent upon Plattsburg, where he arrived on the 11th of September, and, after a severe engagement, was compelled to retire with great loss. The British fleet on lake Champlain, commanded by commodore Downie, was the same day captured by that of the Americans under commodore Macdonough.

Both the Americans and the British had, at this time, a respectable force on lake Champlain. That of the latter was superior, amounting to 95 guns, and 1050 men, while the American squadron carried but 86 guns, and 826 men.

The American fleet was lying off Plattsburg, when the British squadron was observed bearing down in order of battle. An engagement ensued, which lasted 2 hours and 20 minutes. By this time, the enemy was silenced, and one frigate, one brig and two sloops of war fell into the hands of the Americans. Several British galleys were sunk, and a few others

escaped. The loss of the Americans was 52 killed, and 58 wounded; of the British, 84 killed, and 110 wounded.

On the commencement of the naval action, sir George Prevost led up his forces against the American works, and began throwing upon them shells, balls and rockets. The Americans, at the same time, opened a severe and destructive fire from their forts. Before sunset, the temporary batteries of the enemy were all silenced, and every attempt to cross from Plattsburg to the American works repelled. At 9 o'clock, the object was abandoned, and the British general hastily drew off his forces, diminished by killed, wounded and deserted, 2500. Large quantities of military stores were abandoned, and fell into the hands of the Americans.

In March of the present year, the American navy suffered no inconsiderable loss in the Essex, commanded by commodore Porter, which was captured by a superior British force in the bay of Valparaiso, South America. In April, the British brig Epervier, after an action of 42 minutes, was surrendered to the American sloop of war Peacock.

Some important enterprises were undertaken by the enemy at the south the present year. In August, above 50 sail of the British arrived in the Chesapeake. On the 23d, a large detachment forced their way to Washington, and burned the capitol, president's house, and executive offices. They then hastily retired, and regained their shipping. Early in September, an enterprise was conducted against Baltimore. After an unsuccessful engagement on the 12th, the British were repulsed with the loss of general Ross, their commander-in-chief.

In December, the enemy's fleet, consisting of 60 sail, appeared off the coast of the Mississippi. A detachment of 15,000 were landed, under command of sir Edward Packenham, and, on the 8th of January, attacked the Americans, consisting of about 6000, chiefly militia, under general Jackson, in their entrenchments before New Orleans. After an obstinate engagement, the enemy were compelled to retire, with the loss of their commander, and near 3000 men in killed, wounded and prisoners.

SEC. XV. The war was soon after terminated by the treaty of Ghent. This treaty was signed by the commissioners of the two countries on the 24th of December, 1814, and ratified by the president and senate on the 17th of February following.

This treaty made provision "for the suspension of hostilities—the exchange of prisoners—the restoration of territories and possessions obtained by the contending powers during the war—and a combined effort for the abolition of the slave trade." No provision was made in regard to the subjects for which the war was avowedly undertaken. It was, however, contended by the friends of the administration, that as the orders in council had been repealed, and the motives for impressment ceased with the wars in Europe, the grounds of the controversy now no longer existed.

SEC. XVI. The termination of hostilities presented an opportunity for resuming the great plans of improvement in the internal navigation of the state. In 1816, an act was passed, directing the commissioners "to devise and adopt such measures as might be requisite to facilitate and effect a communication, by means of canals and locks, between the navigable waters of Hudson's river and lake Erie, and the said navigable waters and lake Champlain." Nothing of importance was, however, effected the present year.

During the session of 1817, a memorial was presented, signed by above 100,000 of the citizens, calling upon the legislature to pass laws for the commencement and execution of the proposed canals. An act was accordingly pass-

ed, and large appropriations made for this purpose. The Erie and Champlain canals were immediately commenced, and vigorous measures taken for their prosecution.

On the revival of this subject, at the close of the war, the state of the public mind was found to be highly unfavorable to the enterprise. The excitement, which had been produced by the reports of the commissioners, in 1811 and 1812, had mostly subsided, and great doubts were entertained, by a large body of the citizens, of the practicability of the proposed undertaking. Many, intimidated by the magnitude of the work, apprehended that the resources of the state were entirely inadequate to secure its completion. In addition to these difficulties, the measure was warmly opposed on party grounds.

In 1816, the commissioners again made report to the legislature, and stated, that their former opinions had been confirmed by reflection and additional inquiry. Their report was clear and conclusive, but failed in producing any very important results. Some measures were taken for the furtherance of the work, but its importance, and the advantages which must result from it, were, at this time, very imperfectly appreciated. The commissioners appointed the present year were Stephen Van Rensselaer, De Witt Clinton, Samuel Young, Joseph Ellicott and Myron Holley.

In autumn, several distinguished individuals,* aware of the gloomy and discouraged state of the public mind, proceeded to call a meeting of the citizens, at the city hotel, in New York, to take into consideration the propriety of an application to the legislature, in favor of prosecuting the canals. The meeting was large, and highly respectable. William Bayard was placed in the chair, when the business was opened by judge Platt, followed by De Witt Clinton, John Swartwout, and others. Messrs. Clinton, Swartwout and Eddy were constituted a committee to prepare a memorial to the legislature.

This memorial was drafted by Mr. Clinton, and drawn in a masterly style, embracing a lucid and comprehensive view of

* Judge Platt, De Witt Clinton, and Thomas Eddy

he immense advantages that would be produced to the state by the completion of the canal. Copies, which were sent throughout the state, were eagerly signed by thousands, and carried full conviction to every mind. The project immediately became popular, the legislature was roused, and the several successive acts passed for the prosecution of the work. A system of finance was drawn up by Mr. Clinton, which, with some trifling alterations, was adopted, and went into successful operation.*

SEC. XVII. In 1817, governor Tompkins was chosen vice-president of the United States, and De Witt Clinton was elected to succeed him as governor of New York. In 1822, Mr. Clinton declined a reelection, and was succeeded by Joseph C. Yates. The constitution of the state, having been revised by the convention at Albany, the preceding year, was accepted by the people in January. (See *General Views.*) In 1824, Mr. Clinton was again reelected to the office of governor.

The great system of internal improvement, commenced in 1817, was vigorously prosecuted, and attended by a success equalled only by the spirit and enterprise with which it was conducted. The Champlain canal, 71 miles in length, was completed in 1823. The Erie canal, 362 miles in length, was completed, and in successful operation, in October, 1825. The consummation of this most magnificent and glorious enterprise of the age was celebrated by a great state jubilee, and the peal of cannon was heard from the shores of lake Erie to those of the Atlantic.

* See Documents relating to the Canals.

GENERAL VIEWS.

Constitution and Laws. Political Divisions. Cities and Villages. Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Canals. Banks. Militia. Education. Literary Institutions. Religion. Population. Character.

SEC. I. *Constitution and Laws.* On the abolition of the regal authority, the convention of the state, in 1777, established a republican constitution. It was revised in 1821, by a convention at Albany, and underwent many important improvements. The new constitution was presented to the people the following year, and accepted by a majority of more than 33,000 votes. The constitution secures to the citizens the right of suffrage, freedom of conscience in matters of religion, the privilege of habeas corpus, and trial by jury in all criminal cases, protection of private property, and freedom of the press.

The acts of the legislature of this state, with such parts of the common and statute laws of England and Great Britain, and such acts of the colonial assembly, as are not repugnant to the constitution, and the acts of the state legislature, constitute the laws of the state of New York.

The following is a copy of the constitution, as formed by

the convention of 1821, and accepted by the people in January, 1822.

We, the people of the state of New York, acknowledging with gratitude the grace and beneficence of God, in permitting us to make choice of our form of government, do establish the following constitution:

ARTICLE I.—*Legislature.*

SEC. I. The legislative power of this state shall be vested in a senate and assembly.

SEC. II. The senate shall consist of 32 members. The senators shall be chosen for four years, and shall be freeholders. The assembly shall consist of one hundred and twenty-eight members, who shall be annually elected.

SEC. III. A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business. Each house shall determine the rules of its own proceedings, and be the judge of the qualifications of its own members. Each house shall choose its own officers; and the senate shall choose a temporary president, when the lieutenant-governor shall not attend as president, or shall act as governor.

SEC. IV. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and publish the same, except such parts as may require secrecy. The doors of each house shall be kept open, except when the public welfare shall require secrecy. Neither house shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than two days.

SEC. V. The state shall be divided into eight districts, to be called senate districts, each of which shall choose four senators.

The first district shall consist of the counties of Suffolk, Queen's, King's, Richmond and New York.

The second district shall consist of the counties of West-Chester, Putnam, Dutchess, Rockland, Orange, Ulster and Sullivan.

The third district shall consist of the counties of Greene, Columbia, Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Schenectady.

The fourth district shall consist of the counties of Saratoga, Montgomery, Hamilton, Washington, Warren, Clinton, Essex, Franklin and St. Lawrence.

The fifth district shall consist of the counties of Herkimer, Oneida, Madison, Oswego, Lewis and Jefferson.

The sixth district shall consist of the counties of Delaware, Otsego, Chenango, Broome, Cortland, Tompkins and Tioga.

The seventh district shall consist of the counties of Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Ontario.

The eighth district shall consist of the counties of Steuben, Livingston, Monroe, Genesee, Niagara, Erie, Allegany, Cattaraugus and Chautauque.

And as soon as the senate shall meet, after the first election, to be held in pursuance of this constitution, they shall cause the senators to be divided by lot into four classes of eight in each, so that every district shall have one senator of each class; the classes to be numbered one, two, three and four. And the seats of the first class shall be vacated at the end of the first year; of the second class, at the end of the second year; of the third class, at the end of the third year; of the fourth class, at the end of the fourth year, in order that one senator be annually elected in each senate district.

SEC. VI. An enumeration of the inhabitants of the state shall be taken, under the direction of the legislature, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, and at the end of every ten years thereafter: and the said districts shall be so altered by the legislature, at the first session after the return of every enumeration, that each senate district shall contain, as nearly as may be, an equal number of inhabitants, excluding aliens, paupers, and persons of color not taxed; and shall remain unaltered until the return of another enumeration; and shall at all times consist of contiguous territory, and no county shall be divided in the formation of a senate district.

SEC. VII. The members of the assembly shall be chosen by counties, and shall be apportioned among the several counties of the state, as nearly as may be, according to the numbers of their respective inhabitants, excluding aliens, paupers,

and persons of color not taxed. An apportionment of members of assembly shall be made by the legislature, at its first session after the return of every enumeration, and, when made, shall remain unaltered until another enumeration shall have been taken. But an apportionment of members of the assembly shall be made by the present legislature, according to the last enumeration taken under the authority of the United States, as nearly as may be. Every county heretofore established, and separately organized, shall always be entitled to one member of the assembly, and no new county shall hereafter be erected, unless its population shall entitle it to a member.

SEC. VIII. Any bill may originate in either house of the legislature, and all bills passed by one house may be amended by the other.

SEC. IX. The members of the legislature shall receive for their services a compensation to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the public treasury; but no increase of the compensation shall take effect during the year in which it shall have been made. And no law shall be passed increasing the compensation of the members of the legislature beyond the sum of three dollars a day.

SEC. X. No member of the legislature shall receive any civil appointment from the governor and senate, or from the legislature, during the term for which he shall have been elected.

SEC. XI. No person, being a member of congress, or holding any judicial or military office under the United States, shall hold a seat in the legislature. And if any person shall, while a member of the legislature, be elected to congress, or appointed to any office, civil or military, under the government of the United States, his acceptance thereof shall vacate his seat.

SEC. XII. Every bill which shall have passed the senate and assembly, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the governor. If he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large

on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of the members present shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and, if approved by two thirds of the members present, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the governor within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the legislature shall, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

SEC. XIII. All officers holding their offices during good behavior, may be removed by joint resolution of the two houses of the legislature, if two thirds of all the members elected to the assembly, and a majority of all the members elected to the senate, concur therein.

SEC. XIV. The political year shall begin on the first day of January; and the legislature shall every year assemble on the first Tuesday of January, unless a different day shall be appointed by law.

SEC. XV. The next election for governor, lieutenant-governor, senators, and members of assembly, shall commence on the first Monday of November, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two; and all subsequent elections shall be held at such time in the month of October or November as the legislature shall by law provide.

SEC. XVI. The governor, lieutenant-governor, senators, and members of assembly, first elected under this constitution, shall enter on the duties of their respective offices on the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three; and the governor, lieutenant-governor, senators, and members of assembly, now in office, shall continue to hold the same until the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, and no longer.

ARTICLE II.—*Electors.*

SEC. I. Every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been an inhabitant of this state one year preceding any election, and for the last six months a resident of the town or county where he may offer his vote; and shall have, within the year next preceding the election, paid a tax to the state or county, assessed upon his real or personal property; or shall, by law, be exempted from taxation; or, being armed and equipped according to law, shall have performed, within that year, military duty in the militia of this state; or who shall be exempted from performing militia duty in consequence of being a fireman in any city, town or village in this state: And also every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been, for three years next preceding such election, an inhabitant of this state, and for the last year a resident in the town or county where he may offer his vote; and shall have been, within the last year, assessed to labor upon the public highways, and shall have performed the labor, or paid an equivalent therefor, according to law, shall be entitled to vote in the town or ward where he actually resides, and not elsewhere, for all officers that now are, or hereafter may be, elective by the people: But no man of color, unless he shall have been for three years a citizen of this state, and for one year next preceding any election, shall be seized and possessed of a freehold estate of the value of two hundred and fifty dollars, over and above all debts and incumbrances charged thereon; and shall have been actually rated, and paid a tax thereon, shall be entitled to vote at any such election. And no person of color shall be subject to direct taxation, unless he shall be seized and possessed of such real estate as aforesaid.

SEC. II. Laws may be passed, excluding from the right of suffrage persons who have been, or may be, convicted of infamous crimes.

SEC. III. Laws shall be made for ascertaining, by proper proofs, the citizens who shall be entitled to the right of suffrage hereby established.

SEC. IV. All elections by the citizens shall be by ballot, except for such town officers as may by law be directed to be otherwise chosen.

ARTICLE III.—*Executive.*

SEC. I. The executive power shall be vested in a governor. He shall hold his office for two years; and a lieutenant-governor shall be chosen at the same time, and for the same term.

SEC. II. No person, except a native citizen of the United States, shall be eligible to the office of governor; nor shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not be a freeholder, and shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and have been five years a resident within this state, unless he shall have been absent during that time, on public business of the United States, or of this state.

SEC. III. The governor and lieutenant-governor shall be elected at the times and places of choosing members of the legislature. The persons respectively having the highest number of votes for governor and lieutenant-governor shall be elected; but in case two or more shall have an equal, and the highest number of votes for governor, or for lieutenant-governor, the two houses of the legislature shall, by joint ballot, choose one of the said persons so having an equal and the highest number of votes for governor or lieutenant-governor.

SEC. IV. The governor shall be general and commander-in-chief of all the militia, and admiral of the navy of the state. He shall have power to convene the legislature (or the senate only) on extraordinary occasions. He shall communicate by message to the legislature, at every session, the condition of the state, and recommend such matters to them as he shall judge expedient. He shall transact all necessary business with the officers of government, civil and military. He shall expedite all such measures as may be resolved upon by the legislature, and shall take care that the laws are faithfully executed. He shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected.

SEC. V. The governor shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons after conviction, for all offences except treason and cases of impeachment. Upon convictions for treason, he shall have power to suspend the execution of the sentence until the case shall be reported to the legislature at its next meeting; when the legislature shall either pardon, or direct the execution of the criminal, or grant a further reprieve.

SEC. VI. In case of the impeachment of the governor, or his removal from office, death, resignation, or absence from the state, the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon the lieutenant-governor for the residue of the term, or until the governor absent or impeached shall return, or be acquitted. But when the governor shall, with the consent of the legislature, be out of the state in time of war, at the head of a military force thereof, he shall continue commander-in-chief of all the military force of the state.

SEC. VII. The lieutenant-governor shall be president of the senate, but shall have only a casting vote therein. If, during a vacancy of the office of governor, the lieutenant-governor shall be impeached, displaced, resign, die, or be absent from the state, the president of the senate shall act as governor until the vacancy shall be filled, or the disability shall cease.

ARTICLE IV.—*Appointments and Choice.*

SEC. I. Militia officers shall be chosen or appointed as follows:—

Captains, subalterns and non-commissioned officers shall be chosen by the written votes of the members of their respective companies; field officers of regiments and separate battalions, by the written votes of the commissioned officers of the respective regiments and separate battalions; brigadier-generals, by the field officers of their respective brigades. Major-generals, brigadier-generals, and commanding officers of regiments or separate battalions, shall appoint the staff officers of their respective divisions, brigades, regiments or separate battalions.

SEC. II. The governor shall nominate, and, with the

consent of the senate, appoint all major-generals, brigade inspectors, and chiefs of the staff departments, except the adjutant-general and commissary-general. The adjutant-general shall be appointed by the governor.

SEC. III. The legislature shall, by law, direct the time and manner of electing militia officers, and of certifying their elections to the governor.

SEC. IV. The commissioned officers of militia shall be commissioned by the governor; and no commissioned officer shall be removed from office, unless by the senate, on the recommendation of the governor, stating the grounds on which such removal is recommended; or by the decision of a court-martial, pursuant to law. The present officers of the militia shall hold their commissions, subject to removal as before provided.

SEC. V. In case the mode of election and appointment of militia officers hereby directed shall not be found conducive to the improvement of the militia, the legislature may abolish the same, and provide by law for their appointment and removal, if two thirds of the members present in each house shall concur therein.

SEC. VI. The secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general, surveyor-general, and commissary-general, shall be appointed as follows: the senate and assembly shall each openly nominate one person for the said offices respectively; after which, they shall meet together, and, if they shall agree in their nominations, the persons so nominated shall be appointed to the office for which he shall be nominated. If they shall disagree, the appointment shall be made by the joint ballot of the senators and members of assembly. The treasurer shall be chosen annually. The secretary of state, comptroller, attorney-general, surveyor-general, and commissary general, shall hold their offices for three years, unless sooner removed by concurrent resolution of the senate and assembly.

SEC. VII. The governor shall nominate, by message in writing, and with the consent of the senate, shall appoint all judicial officers, except justices of the peace, who shall be appointed in the manner following, that is to say: The board

of supervisors in every county in this state shall, at such times as the legislature may direct, meet together; and they, or a majority of them so assembled, shall nominate so many persons as shall be equal to the number of the justices of the peace, to be appointed in the several towns in the respective counties. And the judges of the respective county courts, or a majority of them, shall also meet and nominate a like number of persons; and it shall be the duty of the said board of supervisors, and judges of the county courts, to compare such nominations, at such a time and place as the legislature may direct; and if, on such comparison, the said boards of supervisors and judges of county courts shall agree in their nominations, in all or in part, they shall file a certificate of the nominations in which they shall agree, in the office of the clerk of the county; and the person or persons named in such certificates shall be justices of the peace: and, in case of disagreement in whole or in part, it shall be the further duty of the said boards of supervisors and judges respectively, to transmit their said nominations, so far as they disagree in the same, to the governor, who shall select from the said nominations, and appoint so many justices of the peace as shall be requisite to fill the vacancies. Every person appointed a justice of the peace shall hold his office for four years, unless removed by the county court for causes particularly assigned by the judges of the said court. And no justice of the peace shall be removed, until he shall have notice of the charges made against him, and an opportunity of being heard in his defence.

SEC. VIII. Sheriffs, and clerks of counties, including the register and clerk of the city and county of New York, shall be chosen by the electors of the respective counties, once in every three years, and as often as vacancies shall happen. Sheriffs shall hold no other office, and be ineligible for the next three years after the termination of their offices. They may be required by law to renew their security from time to time; and, in default of giving such new security, their office shall be deemed vacant. But the county shall never be made responsible for the acts of the sheriff. And the governor may remove any such sheriff, clerk, or register, at any time within the three years for which he shall be elected, giving to such

sheriff, clerk, or register, a copy of the charge against him, and an opportunity of being heard in his defence, before any removal shall be made.

SEC. IX. The clerks of courts, except those clerks whose appointment is provided for in the preceding section, shall be appointed by the courts of which they respectively are clerks; and district-attorneys by the county courts. Clerks of courts and district-attorneys shall hold their offices for three years, unless sooner removed by the courts appointing them.

SEC. X. The mayors of all the cities in this state shall be appointed annually, by the common councils of the respective cities.

SEC. XI. So many coroners as the legislature may direct, not exceeding four in each county, shall be elected in the same manner as sheriffs, and shall hold their offices for the same term, and be removable in like manner.

SEC. XII. The governor shall nominate, and, with the consent of the senate, appoint masters and examiners in chancery, who shall hold their offices for three years, unless sooner removed by the senate, on the recommendation of the governor. The registers and assistant registers shall be appointed by the chancellor, and hold their offices during his pleasure.

SEC. XIII. The clerk of the court of oyer and terminer, and general sessions of the peace, in and for the city and county of New York, shall be appointed by the court of general sessions of the peace in said city, and hold his office during the pleasure of the said court; and such clerks and other officers of courts, whose appointment is not herein provided for, shall be appointed by the several courts, or by the governor, with the consent of the senate, as may be directed by law.

SEC. XIV. The special justices, and the assistant justices, and their clerks, in the city of New York, shall be appointed by the common council of the said city, and shall hold their offices for the same term that the justices of the peace, in the other counties of this state, hold their offices, and shall be removable in like manner.

SEC. XV. All officers heretofore elective by the people, shall continue to be elected; and all other officers, whose appointment is not provided for by this constitution, and all officers whose offices may be hereafter created by law, shall be elected by the people, or appointed, as may by law be directed.

SEC. XVI. Where the duration of any office is not prescribed by this constitution, it may be declared by law; and, if not so declared, such office shall be held during the pleasure of the authority making the appointment.

ARTICLE V.—*Courts.*

SEC. I. The court for the trial of impeachments, and the correction of errors, shall consist of the president of the senate, the senators, the chancellor, and the justices of the supreme court, or the major part of them. But when an impeachment shall be prosecuted against the chancellor, or any justice of the supreme court, the person so impeached shall be suspended from exercising his office, until his acquittal; and when an appeal from a decree in chancery shall be heard, the chancellor shall inform the court of the reasons for his decree, but shall have no voice in the final sentence; and when a writ of error shall be brought on a judgment of the supreme court, the justices of that court shall assign the reasons for their judgment, but shall not have a voice for its affirmance or reversal.

SEC. II. The assembly shall have the power of impeaching all civil officers of this state for mal and corrupt conduct in office, and for high crimes and misdemeanors; but a majority of all the members elected shall concur in an impeachment. Before the trial of an impeachment, the members of the court shall take an oath or affirmation, truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question, according to evidence; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present. Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than the removal from office, and disqualification to hold, and enjoy, any office of honor, trust, or profit, under this state; but the party convicted

ed shall be liable to indictment, and punishment, according to law.

SEC. III. The chancellor and justices of the supreme court shall hold their offices during good behavior, or until they shall attain the age of sixty years.

SEC. IV. The supreme court shall consist of a chief justice, and two justices, any of whom may hold the court.

SEC. V. The state shall be divided, by law, into a convenient number of circuits, not less than four, nor exceeding eight, subject to alteration by the legislature, from time to time, as the public good may require; for each of which a circuit judge shall be appointed, in the same manner, and hold his office by the same tenure, as the justices of the supreme court; and who shall possess the powers of a justice of the supreme court at chambers, and in the trial of issues joined in the supreme court, and in courts of oyer and terminer and jail delivery. And such equity powers may be vested in the said circuit judges, or in the county courts, or in such other subordinate courts as the legislature may by law direct, subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the chancellor.

SEC. VI. Judges of the county courts, and recorders of cities, shall hold their offices for five years, but may be removed by the senate, on the recommendation of the governor, for causes to be stated in such recommendation.

SEC. VII. Neither the chancellor nor justices of the supreme court, nor any circuit judge, shall hold any other office or public trust. All votes for any elective office, given by the legislature, or the people, for the chancellor, or a justice of the supreme court, or circuit judge, during his continuance in his judicial office, shall be void.

ARTICLE VI.—*Oath of Office.*

SEC. I. Members of the legislature, and all officers, executive and judicial, except such inferior officers as may by law be exempted, shall, before they enter on the duties of their respective offices, take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation. “I do solemnly swear, (or affirm, as the case may be,) that I will support the constitution of the United States, and the constitution of the state of New York; and

that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of — — according to the best of my ability."

And no other oath, declaration, or test, shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust.

ARTICLE VII.—*Rights and Prohibitions.*

SEC. I. No member of this state shall be disfranchised, or deprived of any of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

SEC. II. The trial by jury in all cases in which it has been heretofore used, shall remain inviolable for ever; and no new court shall be instituted but such as shall proceed according to the course of the common law, except such courts of equity as the legislature is herein authorized to establish.

SEC. III. The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall for ever be allowed in this state to all mankind; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured, shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this state.

SEC. IV. And whereas the ministers of the gospel are, by their profession, dedicated to the service of God and the cure of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions; therefore, no minister of the gospel, or priest of any denomination whatsoever, shall, at any time hereafter, under any pretence or description whatever, be eligible to, or capable of holding, any civil or military office or place within this state.

SEC. V. The militia of this state shall, at all times hereafter, be armed and disciplined, and in readiness for service; but all such inhabitants of this state, of any religious denomination whatever, as, from scruples of conscience, may be averse to bearing arms, shall be excused therefrom, by paying to the state an equivalent in money; and the legislature shall provide by law for the collection of such equivalent, to be estimated according to the expense, in time and money, of an ordinary able-bodied militia man.

SEC. VI. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion, or invasion, the public safety may require its suspension.

SEC. VII. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, (except in cases of impeachment, and in cases of the militia, when in actual service, and the land and naval forces in time of war, or which this state may keep, with the consent of congress, in time of peace, and in cases of petit larceny, under the regulation of the legislature,) unless on presentment or indictment of a grand jury ; and in every trial on impeachment or indictment, the party accused shall be allowed counsel as in civil actions. No person shall be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb ; nor shall he be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law : Nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

SEC. VIII. Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments, on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right ; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press. In all prosecutions or indictments for libels, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury ; and, if it shall appear to the jury, that the matter charged as libellous is true, and was published with good motives, and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted ; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

SEC. IX. The assent of two thirds of the members elected to each branch of the legislature shall be requisite to every bill appropriating the public moneys or property, for local or private purposes, or creating, continuing, altering or renewing any body politic or corporate.

SEC. X. The proceeds of all lands belonging to this state, except such parts thereof as may be reserved or appropriated to public use, or ceded to the United States, which shall hereafter be sold or disposed of, together with the fund denominated the common school fund, shall be and remain a perpetual

fund; the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated and applied to the support of common schools throughout this state. Rates of toll, not less than those agreed to by the canal commissioners, and set forth in their report to the legislature of the 12th of March, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, shall be imposed on, and collected from all parts of the navigable communications between the great western and northern lakes and the Atlantic ocean, which now are, or hereafter shall be, made and completed: And the said tolls, together with the duties on the manufacture of all salt, as established by the act of the 15th of April, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen; and the duties on goods sold at auction, excepting therefrom the sum of thirty-three thousand five hundred dollars, otherwise appropriated by the said act; and the amount of the revenue, established by the act of the legislature of the 30th of March, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, in lieu of the tax upon steam-boat passengers, shall be, and remain inviolably appropriated and applied to the completion of such navigable communications, and to the payment of the interest, and reimbursement of the capital of the money already borrowed, or which hereafter shall be borrowed, to make and complete the same. And neither the rates of toll, on the said navigable communications, nor the duties on the manufacture of salt aforesaid, nor the duties on goods sold at auction, as established by the act of the 15th of April, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, nor the amount of the revenue established by the act of March the 30th, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, in lieu of the tax upon steam-boat passengers, shall be reduced or diverted, at any time before the full and complete payment of the principal and interest of the money borrowed, or to be borrowed as aforesaid. And the legislature shall never sell nor dispose of the salt springs belonging to this state, nor the lands contiguous thereto, which may be necessary or convenient for their use; nor the said navigable communications, nor any part or section thereof; but the same shall be, and remain the property of this state.

SEC. XI. No lottery shall hereafter be authorized in this state; and the legislature shall pass laws to prevent the sale

of all lottery tickets within this state, except in lotteries already provided for by law.

SEC. XII. No purchase or contract for the sale of lands in this state, made since the 14th day of October, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, or which may hereafter be made, of, or with the Indians, in this state, shall be valid, unless made under the authority and with the consent of the legislature.

SEC. XIII. Such parts of the common law, and of the acts of the legislature of the colony of New York, as together did form the law of the said colony, on the 19th day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and the resolutions of the congress of the said colony, and of the convention of the state of New York, in force on the 20th day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, which have not since expired, or been repealed or altered; and such acts of the legislature of this state as are now in force, shall be and continue the law of this state, subject to such alteration as the legislature shall make concerning the same. But all such parts of the common law, and such of the said acts, or parts thereof, as are repugnant to this constitution, are hereby abrogated.

SEC. XIV. All grants of land within this state, made by the king of Great Britain, or persons acting under his authority, after the 14th day of October, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, shall be null and void; but nothing contained in this constitution shall affect any grants of land within this state, made by the authority of the said king, or his predecessors, or shall annul any charters to bodies politic and corporate, by him or them made before that day; or shall affect any such grants or charters since made by this state, or by persons acting under its authority; or shall impair the obligation of any debts contracted by the state, or individuals, or bodies corporate, or any other rights of property, or any suits, actions, rights of action, or other proceedings in courts of justice.

ARTICLE VIII.—*Amendments.*

SEC. I. Any amendment or amendments to this constitution may be proposed in the senate or assembly; and if the same

shall be agreed to by a majority of the members elected to each of the two houses, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on their journals, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to the legislature then next to be chosen ; and shall be published for three months previous to the time of making such choice ; and if, in the legislature next chosen as aforesaid, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by two thirds of all the members elected to each house, then it shall be the duty of the legislature to submit such proposed amendment or amendments to the people, in such manner and at such time as the legislature shall prescribe ; and if the people shall approve and ratify such amendment or amendments, by a majority of the electors qualified to vote for members of the legislature voting thereon, such amendment or amendments shall become part of the constitution.

ARTICLE IX.—*When in force.*

SEC. I. This constitution shall be in force from the last day of December, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two. But all those parts of the same which relate to the right of suffrage ; the division of the state into senate districts ; the number of members of the assembly to be elected in pursuance of this constitution ; the apportionment of members of assembly ; the elections hereby directed to commence on the first Monday of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two ; the continuance of the members of the present legislature in office until the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, and the prohibition against authorizing lotteries ; the prohibition against appropriating the public moneys or property for local or private purposes, or creating, continuing, altering or renewing any body politic or corporate without the assent of two thirds of the members elected to each branch of the legislature, shall be in force and take effect from the last day of February next. The members of the present legislature shall, on the first Monday of March next, take and subscribe an oath or affirmation to support this constitution, so far as the same shall then be in force. Sher-

iffs, clerks of counties, and coroners, shall be elected at the election hereby directed to commence on the first Monday of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two; but they shall not enter on the duties of their offices before the first day of January then next following. The commissions of all persons holding civil offices on the last day of December, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, shall expire on that day; but the officers then in commission may respectively continue to hold their said offices until new appointments or elections shall take place under this constitution.

SEC. II. The existing laws relative to the manner of notifying, holding and conducting elections, making returns, and canvassing votes, shall be in force, and observed, in respect to the elections hereby directed to commence on the first Monday of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, so far as the same are applicable. And the present legislature shall pass such other and further laws as may be requisite for the execution of the provisions of this constitution, in respect to elections.

SEC. II. *Political Divisions.* To facilitate the operations of government, the state is divided into 54 separately organized counties, which are subdivided into about 660 townships. Albany was, in 1807, constituted the capital of the state, where the sessions of the legislature have since that period been regularly held. Each of the counties has likewise a capital or county town, where the courts are held, and the county business transacted. The state is also divided, agreeably to the constitution, into eight senatorial districts, for the election of senators to the state legislature, and into 30 congressional districts, for the election of representatives to the congress of the United States.

The following presents a list of the counties in 1824, arranged according to their population. New York, Oneida, Dutchess, Otsego, Onondaga, Orange, Rensselaer, Genesee, Cayuga, Washington, Columbia, Albany, Montgomery, Saratoga, Ontario, Jefferson, West-Chester, Madison, Chenango, Herkimer, Ulster, Delaware, Munroe, Tompkins, Suffolk, Schoharie, Greene, Steuben, Queen's, Wayne, Livingston, Seneca, Cortlandt, St. Lawrence, Erie, Tioga, Schenectady, Essex, Chatauque, Oswego, Clinton, Putnam, King's, Broome, Yates, Warren, Allegany, Lewis, Sullivan, Rockland, Niagara, Richmond, Franklin, Cataraugus.

SEC. III. *Cities and Villages.* The state contains five cities, and a large number of incorporated villages. The cities are New York, Albany, Troy and Hudson, situated on Hudson's river; and Schenectady, on the Mohawk. Among the most important villages are Utica, Rochester, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Lockport, Lansingburgh, Canandaigua, Auburn, Geneva, Sackett's Harbor and Poughkeepsie. Some of these, and many others, particularly on the line of the canal, have arisen within a few years, and increased with astonishing rapidity.

New York, the metropolis of the state, is situated on the southern part of the island of Manhattan. It is the largest, and, in a commercial point of view, the most important city in the Union. Its charter was first granted in 1686, and has subsequently received frequent alterations and amendments. It was renewed with additional privileges by governor Montgomery, in 1730, and confirmed by the provincial legislature in 1732.

According to the charter, the city of New York embraces the whole of York, or Manhattan island. This entire tract has been laid out by act of government into streets, squares and roads; and the location, which has been formed with great care and skill, is made perpetual, no person being

permitted to erect buildings on the grounds thus appropriated to public use. Of this extensive location, commencing at the southern extremity, near three miles have been filled up along the Hudson, and about four on East river. In a looser sense, the buildings are spread over most of the island. A great number of villas are scattered throughout eight or ten miles from the southern point; and with these, many houses of an inferior class, belonging to gardeners, farmers and mechanics, who reside in them through the year. The principal collection of these buildings is contained in Haerlem village, and its neighborhood. Manhattanville is a similar collection near the Hudson. The villas are placed in almost all the pleasant positions on the island, and spread over it a brilliancy and cheerfulness not surpassed in the United States.*

The *city* of New York, according to more general acceptance, limited to about four miles of the southern extremity of the island, is from half a mile to two miles in width, and from eight to ten in circuit. The streets of the southern part, which is the most ancient, are irregular, many of them extremely narrow, and laid out with little regard to beauty or convenience. The northern part, having been more recently built, is laid out with better taste, and presents many spacious and elegant avenues. The three principal streets are Pearl street, Broadway, and Greenwich street. These run the whole length of the city, and are intersected, though not at right angles, by streets running from river to river. Pearl street, near the East river, pursues a narrow and devious course through a populous part of the city, and is the seat of great business. Broadway passes in a straight line over the highest ground between the two rivers, and is the noblest avenue of the kind in America. Greenwich street pursues a nearly straight course between Broadway and the Hudson, and is wide and elegant. Wall street, the principal seat of the banks, insurance and brokers' offices, runs from Broadway, across Pearl street, to the river. Chatham street is a noble spaceway, leading from Broadway into Bowery road. Washington street is a splendid avenue near the Hudson. The other principal

* Dwight.

streets are Fulton street, Maiden lane, John street, Nassau, Broad street, Prince, William, Cherry, Hudson and Cortlandt streets. The streets are generally well paved, with good sidewalks, and every part of the city well supplied with lamps.

The Battery is a fine promenade at the southern extremity of the city, containing several acres. It commands an extensive view of the bay and harbor of New York, with the surrounding shores, and was the site of the early fortification from which it derives its name. The Bowling Green is a circular piece of ground at the foot of Broadway, near the Battery. The Park is another beautiful promenade of about four acres, on the south side of Broadway, and near the centre of the city.

The modern houses in New York are mostly of brick, and generally well built. Many of them are elegant. Among the public edifices are now included more than 100 churches, which are occupied by the various denominations for religious worship. The whole number in 1821, according to a list then published, was 71—as follows: Episcopal 15, Dutch Reformed 9, Associate Reformed 5, Presbyterian 10, Methodist 9, Baptist 7, Friends or Quakers 3, Independents 3, Congregational or Unitarian 1, Moravian 1, German Lutheran 1, Universalist 1, Roman Catholic 2, Mariners 1, Mission House 1, New Jerusalem 1, Jews' Synagogue 1. Of these, St. John's, in Hudson Square, is one of the richest, and, in the interior, one of the most beautiful. The steeple of St. Paul's is probably not excelled by any in the Union. The front of the new church in Wall street is handsome.

The City Hall, situated at the head of the Park, is a noble specimen of architecture, and one of the most superb buildings in the United States. This edifice was begun in 1803, by order of the corporation, and completed in 1812, at an expense of \$520,000. The building extends from east to west 216 feet by 105. The south, east and west fronts are faced with white marble, enriched with two regular orders of architecture, the Ionic and Corinthian, raised on a rustic basement of brown freestone, nine feet in height. A neat stone balustrade surrounds the building, and hides a great part of the roof.

The centre has an attic story, which is crowned with a well proportioned cupola, surmounted by the figure of Justice.

The basement floor contains the police office, and large accommodations for the city watch, the marine court, and other offices.

The principal entrance is on the south front, by a terrace walk, which extends the length of the building, and is about 40 feet in breadth. This is raised three feet above the level of the Park. From this walk, a flight of steps ascend to an Ionic colonnade, and from this you pass into a large vestibule, adjoining a corridor that runs lengthwise of the building, and communicates with the different apartments and staircases. This floor contains the mayor's office, and all the offices that belong to the city and county, together with a grand jury room, law library, and other apartments. In the centre of the building, facing the entrance, is a large circular stone staircase, with a double flight of steps, upheld without any apparent support on the wall, which surrounds the stairs.

On the level of the second floor stand 10 marble columns of the Corinthian order, with a circular gallery around them. The columns are fluted, and the entablature fully enriched; the whole covered by a hemispherical ceiling, enriched with sunk compartments filled with patera, and lighted by a large skylight, the whole of which produces a fine effect. The second floor contains four large court rooms, two jury rooms, two offices, a gallery for paintings, and a common council chamber. The latter is finished in a very superb style, and richly ornamented with carvings in stone and wood, which are well executed.

Among other public edifices, the Hospital, Almshouse, Colleges, Theatres, Exchange, State and United States Arsenals, New York Institution, State Prison, Penitentiary, Bridewell, and several of the Banks, are conspicuous.

For the more convenient administration of justice, and the regulation of its internal police, the city is divided into 10 wards. It is governed by a mayor, 10 aldermen and 10 assistants, who are styled the "Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty." The mayor is elected by the common council; and the alder-

men, assistants and other officers, by the several wards. The Fire Department is extensive, well organized, and effective. The numerous societies for religious, eleemosynary, literary, scientific and political purposes, form too large a list to be here enumerated.

The number of houses in the city of New York in 1820 amounted to about 20,000, and the population to 123,706. Since that time, the number of buildings, the business and population of the place, have increased with greater rapidity than at any former period. The number of houses is now (1828) estimated at about 30,000, and the number of inhabitants at above 150,000. The Western and Northern Canals have brought to this city, and must continue to bring to it, an immense accumulation of business and wealth. New York has already become the commercial emporium of America. Considering its local advantages, and the enterprise of its inhabitants, we can hardly set bounds to its future increase and importance.

Albany is the capital, and, next to New York, the largest and most important city in the state. It was founded by the Dutch in 1623, and then called Fort Orange. It received its present name on its surrender to the English in 1664, and was first incorporated as a city in 1686. It has the oldest charter of any city in the Union, and, next to Jamestown in Virginia, is the oldest settlement. It is situated on the west bank of the Hudson, 144 miles from New York, and near the head of sloop navigation. It is a place of large and rapidly increasing business.

The principal streets, with the exception of State street, run parallel with the river. Many of them are narrow, but several are broad, and most of them well paved. State street extends from the river to the capitol, through a central and opulent part of the city: the upper part presents a spacious and elegant avenue. From this diverge North and South Market streets, extending to the two opposite extremities of the city, and embracing a large share of the population and business. Among the other most important avenues are North and South Pearl, Dock, Quay, and Washington streets. The Public Square is a spacious and elegant opening on the

east of the capitol, and is handsomely ornamented with trees and shrubbery.

Most of the old houses are built in the Dutch style, and are of an indifferent appearance; but the new houses are now, by far, the most numerous, and many of them erected in a style of elegance highly creditable to the taste of the inhabitants. Among the public buildings, the Capitol is the most important. This edifice, situated at the head of State street, has a front of 90 feet on the east, and 115 on the north. The walls, 50 feet in height, comprising two stories and a basement of 10 feet, are faced with freestone, from the quarries on the Hudson. The east front has a portico, with four marble Ionic columns, 33 feet in height, exclusive of the entablature. The roof is of a pyramidal form, surmounted by a cupola, the dome of which, 20 feet in diameter, is supported by eight insulated Ionic columns. The dome sustains a pedestal, on which is placed a statue of Themis, 11 feet in height, carved in wood, with appropriate emblems. The assembly chamber, 56 feet by 50, and 28 high; the senate chamber, 50 feet by 28, and 28 high, with the room for the council of revision and the supreme court room, are elegantly finished, and richly ornamented in stucco. In addition to these, the building contains a common council chamber, jury rooms, mayor's court room, a room for the society of arts, for the state library, and the board of agriculture, with the county clerk's office, and other apartments. Among the other public buildings are the State Hall, the Albany Academy, Lancaster School House, State Arsenal, Almshouse, Jail, three Banks, and twelve Churches, occupied by the several denominations for religious worship. Some of these have been recently erected, and are highly beautiful structures.

The city of Albany is divided into five wards, and governed by a mayor, recorder, 10 aldermen and 10 assistant aldermen, who are styled "the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty." The Fire Department is efficient, well organized, and provided with engines. The population of the city, in 1825, amounted to near 16,000. Since the completion of the Western and Northern Canals, Albany has received great accessions of business and population, and, from its local advantages, is

probably destined to be one of the largest inland cities in America.

Troy, the third city in the state in point of population, is a beautiful and flourishing place, situated on the east bank of the Hudson, at the head of tide water, six miles above Albany, and three miles below the confluence of that river with the Mohawk. It was first incorporated as a village in 1801, and as a city in 1816. It has experienced a rapid increase, and has already arisen to a considerable degree of opulence. It is a place of large business, which has been greatly augmented since the completion of the canals. The Poesten-kill and Wynats-kill, two fine mill streams, afford a valuable water-power, which is extensively applied to the purposes of manufacture. The inhabitants have been justly celebrated for their industry and enterprise.

Along the bank of the river, which here makes a considerable bend, winds River street, the principal mart of business. Notwithstanding its irregularity, it is a spacious and elegant avenue. In rear of this, the town is regularly laid out into squares, by streets crossing each other at nearly right angles. Most of them are 60 feet in width, and several well paved. The houses are built in the modern style, and are highly creditable to the taste of the inhabitants. Many of them are highly beautiful. The public buildings are a Court House, Jail, Clerk's Office, several Banks, and the houses for the Lancaster School and Female Seminary. In 1823, there were six churches, occupied by the different denominations for religious worship; and, since that period, several other elegant structures have been erected for this purpose.

Mount Ida and *Mount Olympus* are two fine eminences, of considerable elevation, a short distance from the river, and command an interesting view of the city and surrounding country.

The city of Troy is divided into six wards, and governed by a mayor, recorder, and six aldermen, with four assistants. The population, in 1820, was above 5000; and, in 1823, was estimated at about 6000. Since that time, it has probably increased with greater rapidity than at any former period.

Hudson, one of the largest and most important towns on the river of that name, is situated 117 miles above New York, and occupies a commanding eminence on the eastern bank, at the head of ship navigation. The site of the city is on a high point, projecting into the Hudson, and terminating in a bold, rocky cliff, washed on each side by bays of considerable extent. It was founded in 1784, and has rapidly increased in business and population. The city is regularly laid out into squares by streets crossing each other at right angles. The streets are generally spacious, and the houses well built. Warren street, the most important avenue, is one mile in length, and the principal seat of business. The public buildings are a Court House, Prison, Academy, several School houses, and five houses for religious worship. Hudson is governed by a mayor, aldermen and assistants, who are annually elected by the citizens. The population, in 1820, amounted to above 5300. In point of trade and manufactures, it probably holds the fourth rank in the state.

Schenectady is situated on the south side of the Mohawk, about 16 miles from its confluence with the Hudson. It is built on the site of an ancient Indian town, called by the aborigines, *Can-nugh-harie-gagh-harie*,* and is one of the oldest European settlements in the state. The city is intersected by the Erie canal, and is a place of considerable business. It is regularly laid out into streets, which are well paved, and provided with side-walks. The houses are generally constructed in the ancient style, and have rather an inferior appearance. The public buildings are two College Edifices, a Male and Female Academy, four Churches, Court House, Jail, Almshouse, Bank, and the buildings for the Lancaster and Common Schools. The bridge across the Mohawk at this place is about 1000 feet in length, and a noble piece of architecture. The population of Schenectady is about 4000.

Utica is a pleasant and flourishing village, situated on the south bank of the Mohawk, about 80 miles above Schenecta-

* Translated, *A great multitude collected together*. It was the capital of the Mohawks, and a populous town. The present name of this city was applied by the Indians to Albany, and pronounced by them *Scagh-nack-tea-da*, which means *Beyond the pine plains*.

dy. It is intersected by the Erie canal, and is one of the largest and most important of the western towns. The streets are conveniently arranged, and are generally broad and well paved. The houses are built in the modern style of architecture, and are many of them highly beautiful. The entire village has an air of neatness and elegance, which is seldom surpassed. Among the public buildings are a Court House, two Banks, and one or more Churches for almost every denomination. Several of the latter are uncommonly splendid. Utica has a population of above 5000, and is a place of great wealth.

Rochester, situated on the Genesee river, is the largest and most flourishing village in the state. It has arisen within a few years, and increased in business and population with unparalleled rapidity. It was first settled in 1812, and it was not till the latter part of 1814, that any considerable addition was made to the number of its inhabitants. In 1818, the village contained 1049 inhabitants; in 1820, 1532; in 1822, they were estimated at 2700; in 1824, the population amounted to 4274; in 1825, to 5271; and, in 1827, to 10,818.

Rochester contains a great number of fine dwellings and stores, with several splendid public edifices. Among the public buildings are a Court House, Jail, Market, and six Churches. Several of the latter are costly and elegant structures. The village contains an immense water-power, which is extensively applied to the purposes of manufacture. There are 10 large flour mills, which make annually 230,000 barrels of flour. About 9,000,000 feet of lumber are here sawed annually. The present population is estimated at about 12,000. The village has been created by the Western canal, which passes through it, and has grown up with so much rapidity, that its future prosperity and importance will hardly admit of an estimate.

The aqueduct, at this place, over the Genesee, is one of the finest works on the course of the canal; and is no less remarkable for its usefulness than for its architectural beauty and strength. It is borne across the river's channel on 10

arches of hewn stone. The river dashes rapidly along beneath, while boats, with goods and passengers, glide safely above.

Brooklyn is an opulent and populous village, in the town of that name, situated on Long Island, opposite, and three fourths of a mile from the city of New York. It occupies an elevated position, and, with the adjacent country, presents a great variety of highly beautiful and elegant views. It is among the oldest settlements in the state, and has long been a place of very considerable population and business. It contains near 700 houses, four churches, and some extensive manufactories. The whole population of the town of Brooklyn, in 1820, was 7175, and has, since that period, been considerably augmented. The village is now in a flourishing condition.

Buffalo, situated on the Niagara river, at the east end of lake Erie, is one of the largest and most flourishing villages in the state. It occupies a gentle acclivity, rising from the immediate vicinity of the lake. It was burned by the British in 1814, and has since been rebuilt in a superior style of elegance. The principal street runs along the ridge of the hill, looking out upon lake Erie to the horizon, and is ornamented with several fine blocks of brick stores and handsome dwelling houses, together with several public buildings. A large piece of ground has been left in the middle of the town for a public square, where several streets meet, and which it is intended to ornament with public edifices. A fine promenade has also been laid out on the brow of the hill towards the lake. This is called the *Terrace*, and affords a pleasant view upon the lake, the harbor and the canal. In 1825, Buffalo contained 6000 inhabitants. The business and population of the place are rapidly increasing, and, from its superior commercial advantages, it must ultimately become one of the most important inland towns in America.

Lockport, the county town of Niagara county, is situated on the Western canal, 63 miles west of Rochester. It has been created by the canal, and has grown up with very great rapidity. It has a valuable water-power, and is a place of large and increasing business. The population, in 1823,

amounted to 1458, and has since that period been greatly augmented. Its future prospects cannot at this time be safely anticipated. Its local advantages must, however, render it a place of no small importance. The canal here descends from the Mountain Ridge to the Genesee Level, by five double combined locks, each of 12 feet descent. These locks are among the most interesting works on the canal.

Lansingburgh, situated in the south-west part of the township of that name, on the east bank of the Hudson, and three miles above Troy, is a handsome and flourishing village. It is regularly laid out into squares, by spacious and convenient streets. It contains about 300 houses, a Bank, five Churches, and two buildings occupied by an Academy. It is a place of considerable business, and has 1650 inhabitants.

Canandaigua is situated on a gentle acclivity at the north end of the lake, and near the centre of the township of that name. It is the capital of Ontario county, and one of the most interesting of the western villages. The principal avenue, rising from the lake and extending along the ridge of the hill, is spacious, and contains many elegant buildings. Near the centre of the village is an open area of liberal extent, commanding a beautiful view of the adjacent scenery, and finely ornamented with public buildings. Among the public edifices are a Court House, Jail, three Churches, State Arsenal, and an Academy. In the beauty of its position, and the style of its buildings, it is not probably surpassed by any village of equal extent in the Union. It is located in the midst of a fertile tract of country, and is a place of much business. It contains about 2000 inhabitants, and is now in a flourishing condition.

Auburn, situated on the outlet of the Owasco lake, and near the eastern boundary of the township of Aurelius, is a pleasant village, and the capital of Cayuga county. It contains about 150 houses, many of which are elegant, with the county buildings, and other public edifices. Of these the most important is the State Prison. This was erected in 1817 at an expense of \$300,000; and is probably the best constructed building of the kind in the United States. Auburn is a place of some business, and contains 1800 inhabitants.

Geneva is a beautiful and flourishing village, situated at the north end and near the outlet of Seneca lake. It occupies a pleasant elevation, commanding an extensive view of the lake and surrounding country. It contains above 300 houses shops and stores, with several handsome Churches, a College and an Academy. It is a place of much business and enterprise, and has about 1800 inhabitants.

Sackett's Harbor is situated on the south-west side of Black River bay, eight miles from lake Ontario, and is a place of considerable business. It was founded in 1801, and, during the late war, was an important military and naval position. It has a fine harbor, and commands an extensive trade upon the lake. It contains about 2000 inhabitants, and is now in a prosperous condition.

Poughkeepsie, situated in the town of that name, on the east bank of the Hudson, and 74 miles above New York, is a village of considerable importance, and the capital of Dutchess county. The inequality of the surface along the river's bank gives the place a singular and romantic appearance. The village contains the County Buildings, a Bank, an Academy, five Churches, and about 600 houses, stores and shops. It is a place of some business, and contains about 2700 inhabitants.

SEC. IV. *Agriculture.* Agricultural pursuits constitute the employment of an important and highly respectable portion of the community. A large part of the state presents a productive soil; and the manner of cultivation, which has already attained to a high degree of perfection, is rapidly improving. In 1819, the subject received the attention of the legislature; and an act was passed, making provision for the forming of county societies, for the promotion of agriculture and household manufactures, and the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, to consist of the presidents or delegates of the county

societies. Ten thousand dollars per annum, for four years, was appropriated to the use of these societies, and one thousand to the Board of Agriculture.

Under this act a large number of societies were formed. The board was organized, and published its first volume of "*Memoirs*" in 1821. The success that attended these efforts induced the legislature to extend the act to an additional term of four years. The societies annually expend, in premiums, double the amount appropriated from the treasury. Annual Fairs are held in each of the counties, for the exhibition and sale of products, and for competition in the manual operations of agriculture. The publications of the board, comprising essays on husbandry, and the results of experiments in various parts of the state, are highly respectable, and tend rapidly to accelerate the march of improvement.

About three fourths of the entire population of the state are engaged in agricultural pursuits. Six million acres of land, less than one fourth part of the area of the state, are at present under improvement. Wheat is the most important product, and is exported in large quantities. Indian corn, rye, and barley, are extensively cultivated. The number of cattle, according to the state census of 1821, was 1,219,000; horses, 263,000; sheep, 2,153,000.* As connected with agriculture, may also be mentioned the fabrics of household manufacture. The quantity of cloth of various kinds manufactured in families, in 1821, amounted to above 10,000,000 yards.

* The round numbers are here given. For the exact numbers, see Spafford's *Gazetteer*, published in 1824.

SEC. V. *Manufactures.* Notwithstanding the competition of foreign manufactures, those of New York may be said to be in a flourishing condition. Iron and salt are among the most important articles; and the latter constitutes a valuable source of revenue to the state. In addition to the cloths made in families, extensive cotton and woollen manufactories furnish an immense quantity of these fabrics. The manufacture of flour is carried on to a great extent in most parts of the state, and, in value, probably exceeds that of any other article.

Among the articles of manufacture may likewise be enumerated malt, and distilled liquors, leather, cordage, refined sugar, glass, paper, hats, and oil. In the newly settled parts of the state, large quantities of pot and pearl ashes are annually made. The manufacture of porcelain has been recently commenced in the city of New York.

Owing to the imperfect returns, no very accurate statements can be made of the extent of manufacturing establishments, or the amount of articles manufactured. According to the returns of 1823, the capital engaged in manufactures was about \$8,000,000, which must be far below the real amount. There were, in 1823, above 10,000 hydraulic machines employed on the streams which flow through the various sections of the state. Of these, 2140 were flouring mills; 184 cotton and woollen factories; 4321 saw mills; 139 oil mills; 993 fulling mills; and 1235 carding machines. There were 184 iron works, 1060 distilleries, and 1227 asheries.

SEC. VI. *Commerce.* New York has a widely extended commerce, which has of late been greatly augmented by the communications with

the northern and western lakes. Its exports are more than those of any other state ; and its imports from foreign countries constitute above one fifth of the entire imports of the United States. The amount of shipping employed, including that on the river and lakes, and exclusive of small craft on the canals, is estimated at 300,000 tons.

The most important articles exported are, wheat, pot and pearl ashes, Indian corn, rye, beef, pork and lumber. A considerable portion of these exports are derived from the western parts of New England, and the eastern part of New Jersey. Since the completion of the western canal, the commerce of a large part of Ohio, Upper Canada, and the country bordering on the great lakes, has been conducted through New York. Large quantities of iron and salt are annually exported for the consumption of the neighboring states. During the year 1827, 30,000 barrels of salt were shipped to the westward, from Buffalo.

SEC. VII. *Canals.* The improvement of the internal navigation of the state, by means of canals and locks, was among the earliest enterprises of its inhabitants. These works were, however, limited in extent, and confined to the improvement of natural streams. The canal and locks at Little Falls, on the Mohawk river, were completed in 1795 ; and those at Wolf Rift, with the canal connecting the Mohawk with Wood creek and the Oneida lake, in 1797. Similar works were subsequently constructed on the Seneca river, at Seneca falls and Waterloo.

In 1810, the public attention began to be directed to more extensive improvements. The

works now contemplated embraced a canal communication between the navigable waters of the Hudson and the western and northern lakes. The enterprise was undertaken by the state, and a system of energetic measures adopted for its prosecution. The Erie and Champlain canals, connecting the waters of those lakes with the Hudson, were commenced in 1817. The Erie canal was completed in 1825, at an expense of about \$3,000,000, and is one of the most stupendous and magnificent works of the kind ever executed. The Champlain canal was completed in 1823.

The Oswego canal, 38 miles in length, commences at Syracuse, and terminates at the mouth of Oswego river on lake Ontario. The Seneca canal commences at the village of Geneva, and, running easterly 2 miles to the outlet of the Seneca lake, continues down the outlet 13 miles to the Montezuma marshes; thence along the western margin of those marshes, 5 miles, to the Erie canal. These works are lateral branches of the Erie canal, and have been subsequently executed.

The Erie canal, extending from Albany to Buffalo, is 40 feet wide on the surface, 28 on the bottom, 4 feet deep, and 362 miles in length, exclusive of side cuts and navigable feeders. The locks, 83 in number, are 15 feet wide between the gates, and 99 feet in length, and are constructed of the most imperishable stone, laid in water cement. The altitude of the water at the termination of the canal at Buffalo is 565 feet above that of the Hudson at Albany. The total of ascent and depression overcome by means of lockage, throughout the whole extent, is 688 feet. A tow-path is constructed on the

bank of the canal, which is elevated from 2 to 4 feet above the surface of the water.

The course of the Erie canal, commencing at the Albany Basin, is along the bank of the Hudson to Watervliet, where it receives a navigable feeder from the Mohawk, constituting the communication with the Northern or Champlain canal. Thence it proceeds along the bank of the Mohawk, and crosses that river above the Cahoes Falls, by an aqueduct 1188 feet in length, supported by 26 piers. It then continues about 12 miles on the north bank, after which it recrosses the Mohawk, 4 miles below Schenectady, by an aqueduct 748 feet in length, 25 feet above the water of the river, and supported by 16 piers. Thence it winds along the south bank of the river, through Schenectady and Utica to Rome. At Little Falls, the Erie is connected with the old canal, by a stone aqueduct across the Mohawk, 170 feet in length, and supported by 3 arches. The Utica Level, $69\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, without a single lock, commences at Frankfort, 9 miles east of Utica, and, proceeding through that village, Whitestown, Rome, Verona, Sullivan and Manlius, terminates in the town of Salina, and near the village of Syracuse. During this course, it passes the Sauquait, Oriskany, Oneida, Canastota, Chittenango, and Limestone creeks, by aqueducts of various extent. It then proceeds through the village of Syracuse, and crosses the Skeneateles outlet, by a stone aqueduct, supported by 3 arches; and the Owasco creek, by an aqueduct of 4 arches, to Montezuma; thence through the Cayuga Marshes, the villages of Clyde and Lyons, and, passing Mud creek, by a stone aqueduct, 90 feet in length, continues through Palmyra, Pittsford and Rochester, to Lockport. At Pittsford, it crosses the Irondequoit creek, on a stupendous embankment, 72 feet in height. At Rochester, it crosses the Genesee river, by a stone aqueduct, of superior architecture, 530 feet in length. Between Rochester and Lockport, the canal passes several deep ravines, by aqueducts and embankments. At Lockport is an ascent of 60 feet, overcome by five double combined locks, to the Mountain Ridge, through which the canal passes, by a deep excavation, to the Tonewanda creek. It then enters the creek, and continues along its channel to its mouth.

where a dam is erected $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, and proceeds along the shore of the Niagara river and lake Erie, to its termination at Buffalo.

Connected with the canal, a pier of great length has been constructed in the Niagara river, at Black Rock, for the purpose of forming a harbor at that place, and supplying water for the summit level. The water of lake Erie continues in the canal to Montezuma. Thence there is an ascent to the Jordan summit, from which the canal descends to the level of Syracuse. It then ascends to the Utica summit, from which is a continuous descent to the Hudson.

The canal debt, in 1826, amounted to \$7,602,000; the receipts of tolls on the canal the same year, to \$750,000; and the revenue from salt, and auction duties, belonging to the canal fund, to \$420,000. The tolls, in 1827, amounted to \$859,000. It is estimated, that the revenues arising from tolls and the canal fund will, besides paying the interest, extinguish the canal debt in 10 years, dating from 1826.

The Champlain canal, connecting the Erie canal and Hudson's river with lake Champlain, is 71 miles in length, and was constructed at an expense of \$875,000. Commencing at the junction in Watervliet, its course is northward across the Mohawk, which it passes, by a dam, into Waterford, and continues along the west bank of the Hudson to Northumberland, where it enters the river. It continues in the river to fort Miller, where it is taken out, and carried round the falls on the east bank, after which it re-enters the river, and continues in the channel to fort Edward. Here it is again taken out on the east bank, and proceeds through fort Edward and Kingsbury, to fort Anne village, where it enters Wood creek. Thence it continues in the channel of the creek about 6 miles, and is then taken out on the west bank, and proceeds northward $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles, to its termination at the village of Whitehall. The summit level, between fort Edward and fort Anne, has an elevation of 140 feet above the tide-water of the Hudson, and 54 above the water of lake Champlain. It is supplied by a feeder at fort Edward, from the waters of the Hudson, which are raised 27 feet by a dam across that stream, 900 feet in length. Connected with the canal is also

a dam across the Hudson, with a sloop lock, at Troy, which cost \$92,270. The canal communicates with these works by a descent of three locks into the Mohawk, below the dam on that river, at Waterford. The tolls received on this canal, in 1827, amounted to \$72,833.

The Delaware and Hudson canal is partly in this state. It commences on the Hudson, at Kingston, and proceeds in a south-west direction, through the valley of the Neversink creek, to the Delaware river. This canal will be highly important in supplying New York with coal from the mines in Pennsylvania.

SEC. VIII. *Banks.* There are above 40 banks in this state, possessing a large amount of real and a still larger amount of nominal capital. In 1811, there were 15 banks,—the capitals of which amounted to \$11,840,000. Of these, 5 were in the city of New York,—the capitals of which amounted to \$8,050,000. In 1819, the aggregate capital of 30 of the banks in this state amounted to \$24,000,000.

SEC. IX. *Militia.* The militia comprises, with few exceptions, all the able-bodied white male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45 years. The enrolled militia, at this time, amounts to about 150,000 men, and are well organized and provided with arms. Twelve arsenals are located in various sections of the state, and supplied with military stores.

According to the returns of 1823, the enrolled militia at that time amounted to 146,709: of these, 132,639 were infantry; 8622 artillery; and 5448 cavalry. They were divided into 27 divisions, which were subdivided into 61 brigades, 243 regiments, and 2012 companies. The arsenals are located at New York, Albany, Whitchall, Plattsburgh, Elizabethtown,

Malone, Russel, Watertown, Rome, Onondaga, Canandaigua and Batavia.

SEC. X. *Education and Literary Institutions.* The facilities for education are in no country more extensively enjoyed, or more highly appreciated, than in New York. The "Regents of the University," instituted in 1787, constitute a corporation of 21 members, to whom is intrusted the care of the literature of the state. It is their duty to visit colleges, academies and schools, and to superintend the system of education. They meet annually at Albany, and report to the legislature the state of literary institutions. They are authorized to incorporate colleges and academies, and have the direction and distribution of the funds appropriated to literary institutions.

Six colleges, including those for physicians and surgeons, have been established in this state, and liberally endowed. Columbia college, in the city of New York, Union college, at Schenectady, and Hamilton college, at Paris, Oneida county, are all useful and highly flourishing institutions. The college at Geneva has been recently established. The college of physicians and surgeons in the city of New York, is surpassed by no institution of the kind in America; that at Fairfield is highly respectable. There are 36 incorporated academies, located in various parts of the state, and about 8000 common schools. In these seminaries, 400,000 children and youth are annually educated.

Columbia College was founded in 1757, and, till the revolution, had the name of King's college. It has a president, five professors, a considerable library, and valuable philosophical apparatus. This institution has been richly endowed, and has about 140 students.

Union College was incorporated by the regents of the university in 1794. It has a president and four professors, a library of above 5000 volumes, and a complete chemical and philosophical apparatus. The number of students is about 250. The funds of the institution, in 1796, amounted to about \$50,000; and, since that period, it has received, besides other grants from the legislature, a grant by lottery of about \$90,000.

Hamilton College was incorporated by the regents of the university in 1812. About \$50,000 were subscribed by individuals, and the same sum granted by the legislature to constitute the funds of the seminary. Since that period, the funds have received an addition of \$50,000 by indirect grants of the legislature. It has three professors, two tutors, a library of above 2000 volumes, with a good chemical and philosophical apparatus. It is situated in the heart of one of the most populous and flourishing sections of the state, and promises to become, at no very distant period, one of the most important institutions in the country.

The Presbyterians have a *Theological Seminary* at Auburn; the Baptists, at Hamilton; and the Episcopal Church in the city of New York. Of the *Incorporated Academies*, Albany, Cayuga, Clinton, Lansingburgh, Montgomery, Dutchess, Union Hall, Whitesborough, Erasmus Hall, Geneva, Hudson, St. Lawrence, Hartwick, Middlebury, Lawville, Oxford, Pompey, Canandaigua, Cambridge and Ballston are the most important. There are likewise a large number of *Private Schools* established in various parts of the state, many of which are highly respectable. Above \$6000, the revenue arising from the *Literature Fund*, are annually distributed, by the regents of the university, among the incorporated academies, in proportion to the number of classical students. Near \$200,000, derived from the *Common School Fund* and district or town

taxes, are annually appropriated to the support of *Common Schools*.*

SEC. XI. *Religion.* In New York, the institutions of the *Christian Religion* are very generally regarded. The constitution makes no provision for its support, but secures to every man the free use and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience. The clergy are supported by the voluntary contributions of the people, and are excluded from holding offices under the government. The principal denominations are, General Assembly Presbyterians, Associate Reformed Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, Friends and Lutherans. Above 3000 churches are occupied by the several denominations for religious worship.

SEC. XII. *Population.* New York contains a population, principally descended from Holland, Great Britain, France and Germany, of about 1,800,000. During the early period of its history, the progress of population was retarded by the disadvantages of a location remote from the civilized world, and surrounded by a jealous, savage, and revengeful people. At the close of the first 50 years after its settlement, the European population was only 5000; and, at the close of the first century, about 50,000. In 1756, it amounted to near 100,000; and has, since that period, increased with astonishing

* In 1823, the sum amounted to \$182,802 25.

rapidity. In 1800, it was 586,000; in 1810, 959,000; in 1820, 1,372,000; and in 1825, 1,616,000. According to this ratio of increase, the number, in 1830, will amount to 2,000,000.

The original Indian population has been rapidly disappearing since the European settlements, and has now become extinct in most parts of the state. About 5000, the remains of the Confederated Iroquois, are all that survive of these once populous and powerful tribes. The Oneidas reside on the reservation near Utica; the Senecas and Onondagas, on the Buffalo and Cattaraugus Creek reservations; and their adopted brethren, the Tuscaroras, at Lewiston. The Mohawks have retired to Upper Canada.

SEC. XIII. *Character.* The people of New York, consisting of emigrants, or the descendants of emigrants, from most of the European states, can hardly be said, at this period, to have established a national character. They all retain, in a greater or less degree, the distinguishing characteristics of the particular nation from which they originated. The Dutch, being the earliest settlers, imparted a bias to the others, which is still perceptible, and probably will long continue.

New York has furnished her full proportion in the bright catalogue of American worthies, and has ever been distinguished for patriotism and attachment to freedom. In the progress of the common and liberal arts, and in developing

and improving her natural resources, she has been surpassed by none of the United States. The activity everywhere apparent in her cities and villages, the high state of cultivation, and the neatness and order, exhibited in most sections of the country ; above all, the great works of internal improvement, which have been executed since the termination of the late war, sufficiently attest the industry and enterprise of her inhabitants.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

Sketches of the Lives and Characters of some distinguished Men in the Colony and State of New York.

GEORGE CLINTON.

George Clinton was born in July, 1739, in the precinct of the highlands, in the county of Ulster, now the town of New Windsor, in the county of Orange.

At an early age, he displayed that spirit of enterprise and energy of character, which distinguished his conduct through life. During the French war, he entered on board a privateer, which sailed from the port of New York; and, after undergoing great dangers and hardships, returned, and accepted the commission of a lieutenant, in a company commanded by his brother James. This company composed part of a regiment commanded by his father; and which, united with other forces, under colonel Bradstreet, captured fort Frontenac, now Kingston, near the mouth of lake Ontario. During this expedition, captain Clinton's company signalized itself by attacking a French sloop of war, which annoyed the army in its descent down the lake; and which, after a bloody engagement, was compelled to strike its colors.

After this campaign, he commenced the studies preparatory for the legal profession, and, in 1764, was admitted to the bar of the supreme court. He established himself in his native county, where he practised with great reputation and success. He had previously filled the office of clerk of Ulster county, to which he was appointed by governor Clinton, the father of sir Henry Clinton.

He was soon after chosen a member of the colonial assembly, after a violent struggle, and a formidable opposition from all the influence of the crown. He immediately became the

head of the whig party in this assembly, where he continued usefully and actively employed until the revolution, on the side of the people, defying the frowns of power, spurning the seductions of corruption and intrigue, and displaying the resources of a powerful intellect, and the energies of undaunted patriotism.

In April, 1775, he was appointed a delegate to the continental congress, and took his seat in that body in May following. In January, 1776, he attended an adjourned meeting, having been continued in office by the provincial convention which assembled in New York in December of the preceding year. In 1776, he was also appointed brigadier-general of the militia of Ulster county, and, some time after, a brigadier in the army of the United States.

At the first election under the constitution of the state, he was chosen both governor and lieutenant-governor. On his acceptance of the former office, the venerable Pierre Van Cortlandt was elected to the latter. After having been continued in the office of governor, by 6 triennial elections, for the term of 18 years, Mr. Clinton declined another election, and published an address to the freeholders of the state, stating, that his respect for the republican principle of rotation in office would no longer permit him to fill his recent honorable station.

During the revolutionary war, his situation, as chief magistrate of the state of New York, owing to its exposure to the incursions of the enemy, was the most arduous, critical and important of any office in the new empire, except that of commander-in-chief of the army. In all the trying exigencies of that protracted conflict, he maintained his well-earned reputation for patriotism and intrepidity. The actual, as well as the nominal head of the state militia, he was seen at one period driving the enemy into the forests of the west, at another time meeting him on the frontier, and chastising his temerity.

His energy and decision were very remarkable. At the conclusion of the revolutionary war, when violence against the tories was the order of the day, a British officer was placed on a cart, in the city of New York, to be tarred and feathered.

This was the signal for violence and assassination. Governor Clinton, at this moment, determined in his purpose, rushed in among the mob with a drawn sword, and rescued the victim.

Some years after, a furious assemblage of people collected, called the *doctors' mob*, and raged through New York, with intentions to kill the physicians of that city, and pull down their houses, for having dug up bodies for dissection. This mob was inconceivably terrible, and, by their violence, intimidated the local magistracy. Governor Clinton fortunately appeared in person, called out the militia, and restored peace to the city.

After a retirement of five years from public life, Mr. Clinton was called by the citizens of New York to represent them in the assembly of the state. In 1801, he was again prevailed upon to accept of a re-election as governor, and, after continuing in that office for three years, he was elected vice-president of the United States, in which station he continued until his decease, which took place on the 20th of April, 1812, at the city of Washington.

Governor Clinton's conduct was amiable in private, as it was dignified in public life. No man felt more powerfully the charities of the love of his family and associates. In all the vicissitudes of an eventful career, he never abandoned a faithful friend. And while he made it a sacred rule to disregard the claims of consanguinity in the dispensation of patronage, his virtuous adherents, who were connected with him by the kindred feelings of patriotism and the sympathies of friendship, never failed to experience the full extent of his liberality.

As a public character, he will live in the veneration of posterity, and the progress of time will thicken the laurels that surround his monument. The characteristic virtues, which distinguished his life, appeared in full splendor in the trying hour of death; and he died as he lived—without fear and without reproach.

JAMES CLINTON.

James Clinton, brother to the preceding, was born in Ulster county, August, 1736, and received the advantages of a supe-

rior education. The predominant inclination of his mind was for a military life. After having successfully held several offices in the militia and provincial troops, he was, in 1763, appointed by lieutenant-governor Colden captain-commandant of the four companies in the pay of the province of New York, raised for the defence of the western frontiers of the counties of Ulster and Orange, and, in 1774, lieutenant-colonel of the militia in Ulster county. In the French war of 1756, he was a captain under colonel Bradstreet at the capture of fort Frontenac, and rendered important service in that expedition, particularly by the capture of a French sloop of war on lake Ontario, which impeded the progress of the army.

At the commencement of the revolution in 1775, he was appointed, by the continental congress, colonel of the 3d regiment of the New York forces. He was, the same year, appointed, by the provincial congress of New York, colonel of the militia foot in Ulster county; and, in March, 1776, by the continental congress, colonel of the 2d battalion of New York troops; and, in August, a brigadier-general in the army of the United States. In this station he continued during the greater part of the war, having the command of the New York line, or the troops of this state, and, at its close, was constituted a major-general. In 1775, his regiment composed part of the army which invaded Canada under Montgomery; and, in 1777, he commanded at fort Clinton, which, with fort Montgomery, constituted the defence of the Hudson river against the ascent of the enemy. When these forts were stormed by the enemy under sir Henry Clinton, general James Clinton, with his brother, then governor, made a desperate, but ineffectual resistance. During a considerable part of the war, he was stationed at Albany, where he commanded in the northern department, a place of high responsibility, and requiring uncommon vigilance and constant exertion. He took part in the expedition against the Indians in 1779, and was present at the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown, where he distinguished himself by his usual intrepidity. His last appearance in arms was on the evacuation of the city of New York, where he bid the commander-in-chief a final and affectionate farewell, and retired to his estates.



DE WITT CLINTON.

He was, however, frequently called from his retirement by the unsolicited voice of his fellow-citizens. He was appointed a commissioner to adjust the boundary line between Pennsylvania and New York, and was selected by the legislature for an interesting mission to settle controversies respecting lands in the west. He represented his native county in the assembly, and in the convention that adopted the present constitution of the United States. He was elected, without opposition, a senator from the middle district, and a delegate to the convention of 1801, for the purpose of amending the state constitution, all of which trusts he executed with integrity and ability, and to the perfect satisfaction of his constituents. His temper was mild and affectionate; but, when roused by unprovoked insult, or unmerited injury, he exhibited extraordinary energy. He died in December, 1812, in the 76th year of his age, and was interred in the family burial place, at Little Britain, in Orange county.*

DE WITT CLINTON.

De Witt Clinton was born in 1769, at the residence of his father, general James Clinton, New Windsor, Orange county, in this state, and received his early education at a grammar school in a neighboring village, called Stonefield, under the care of the reverend John Moffat, from which he was transferred, at the age of 13, to an academy at Kingston, then conducted by Mr. John Addison. He remained here until he was prepared to enter the junior class of Columbia college in 1784, and was graduated a bachelor of arts, at the first public commencement held in this institution after the close of the revolutionary war, being adjudged worthy to receive the honor of delivering the Latin salutatory address—an honor always conferred on the best classic scholar of the year.

He commenced the study of the law in 1786, with Samuel Jones, esquire, a celebrated counsellor, second to none of his profession for profound and extensive knowledge. Mr. Clinton received the usual licenses or degrees in the law, but was

* Lord.

abruptly called off from the further cultivation of the pursuit, by circumstances arising from the situation of political affairs in the state of New York. The germs of the two great parties, which have since divided the country, were, at that time, beginning to appear. His uncle, George Clinton, then governor of the state, was assailed by a combination of almost all the talents of that section of the country; and pamphlets and newspaper essays were poured upon the public with unrestrained profusion. Mr. Clinton, relinquishing every other pursuit, entered warmly and exclusively into the vindication of the conduct and principles of his uncle; and it is believed that the greater part of the controversial politics on that side was managed by him during this period of turbulence and irritation. He continued with his uncle, as his secretary, during his administration, which ended in 1795. The governor declined a re-election, not only on account of the ill state of his health, but from his observance also of the republican rule of rotation in office. Mr. Clinton had been honored, while with his venerable uncle, with the office of secretary of the university, and of the board of fortifications of New York. Upon the retirement of the governor, Mr. Clinton also withdrew from public life. But his efforts, as an individual, in rallying and supporting the party of which he might then have been considered the leader, were not for a moment remitted. To do this with effect, however, it seemed necessary that he should be placed in a public station; and, accordingly, 1798, he was elected a member of the assembly of this state from the city of New York, and, in 1800, was chosen a senator from the southern district, and a member of the council of appointment. From the senate of this state, by a joint ballot of both branches of the legislature, he was elected to a seat in the senate of the United States, where he took an active interest in the concerns of the country, in relation to the differences then existing with the Spanish authorities at New Orleans. His continuance in that august body, however, was short, as, on receiving the appointment of mayor of New York, in October, 1803, it became necessary that he should resign it, the duties of the two offices being by law incompatible. In the office of mayor, he was continued by annual appointment until March, 1807,

when, by reason of one of those changes of party which occasionally occur, and are more in appearance than in reality, and not inappropriately designated by the term *political mirage*, he was superseded, and remained out of office eleven months, as he was appointed mayor again by the council, in February, 1803. His term of office, at this time, was a little more than two years, when another partial party change again removed him, and he remained out of office another term of eleven months. In February, 1811, he was again, and for the third time, appointed mayor, and he continued in office by yearly appointment until the 20th of March, 1815, a term which included the whole period of the late war. It is worthy of remark, that a political change in the state, in 1813, caused an almost entire change in its civil commissions, and, in conformity with that rule of proscription which seemed to have assumed as its basis, that so soon as a party were in a minority, every individual belonging to it was disqualified for any official trust, Mr. Clinton would have been removed from office; but so great was the measure of confidence which the public reposed in him, that his political opponents petitioned their own friends for his re-appointment in place of his removal, so that the virulence of party was disarmed by a consciousness of his peculiar fitness for the station.

During the last term of his mayoralty, he was elected lieutenant-governor of the state, in the place of the honorable John Broome, deceased, and he continued to officiate both as president of the senate and mayor of the city for two years, viz. from 1811 to 1813. In the spring of 1815, he was again superseded, and deprived of all his public employments except that of canal commissioner. In 1817, Mr. Clinton was elected the governor of the state, and, at the expiration of the term for which he was chosen, viz. 1820, he was re-elected, and served till the adoption of the new state constitution, which took effect from the commencement of the year 1823, and shortened the ordinary term of office by six months. In the autumn of 1822, he declined another nomination, and returned to the pursuits of private life, holding only the office of a canal commissioner; from which he was removed in the spring of 1824, by a vote of the legislature, which the people

rebuked in a most emphatic manner, six months afterwards, by again electing him their governor, and by the largest majority ever known in this state, in a contested election; and he continued to exercise the office to the last hour of his valuable life.

As a citizen, useful, active, and meritorious, he was second, probably, to no man in the United States.—In the great and growing state and city of which he was a native and resident, no man has stamped his name, his genius and his services on more monuments of public munificence and private utility.

His mind and cast of thought were of the finest order, partaking less of the Machiavelian than the Roman school, and exhibiting a greater portion of innate dignity and the *fortiter in re* than is, at all times, convenient or advantageous to a candidate for popular suffrage. In every station, he distinguished himself by his talents, his integrity and his despatch of business. His reading was multifarious, indefatigable, well-directed and profitable; for his judgment digested, and his memory retained, the collected knowledge of every hour allowed, from his numerous avocations, for study and reflection.

In religion, he was neither a bigoted sectarian, nor scoffer at the superstitious. Reverencing the great principles and duties of rational piety, he cherished the dictates of devotion in all, and respected the tenets and honest singularities of the most peculiar.—Establishing no exclusive denomination over others, he would tolerate every class of sincere professors and protect them in a liberal exercise of their ideas of divine worship. His charities have principally kept pace with his ability; his pecuniary aid, and his friendly advice and assistance, were always at the service of indigence, virtue, benevolence, literature, the arts, and public utility. If the circle of his confidential associates was contracted, it was not because he discarded attachments when they ceased to be profitable. In his intercourse with the various classes of his fellow-citizens, to which his universal knowledge of business called him, his suavity of disposition and urbanity of manners banished every idea of fastidious reserve and austerity of demeanor,

and rendered his presence desirable and his co-operation sought for on every humane and laudable occasion.*

The following extract from the memoirs of De Witt Clinton, by doctor Hosac, will be read with interest.

" His person was tall, exceeding six feet in height, of a fine form, and well proportioned. In his earlier days, he was remarkable for his thin and slender make; but, in the latter part of his life, his frame became expanded, and, in consequence of lameness from an accidental injury, by which he was deprived of his customary exercise, he acquired a fulness of habit, which predisposed him to the diseases that ultimately supervened, and, in their consequences, led to his dissolution. His carriage was elevated; his movements deliberate and dignified, sometimes manifesting great earnestness, but never precipitancy.

" His head was well formed, and particularly distinguished for the great height and breadth of his forehead; his hair was brown; his complexion brilliant; his nose finely proportioned, and of the Grecian form; his lip thin, and of that peculiar configuration that some critics have deemed indicative of eloquence.

" His eyes were of a dark hazel color, but peculiarly quick and expressive; sometimes indicating all the playfulness of the most vivid imagination; upon other occasions, moistened with a tear, displaying the most tender emotion that can weigh upon the heart; but when a sense of injury or wrong called for redress, the same eye would flash the fire of indignation in expressing the powerful feelings that were then passing through his mind. The muscles of his face, especially when exercised in conversation, or in public speaking, were strongly marked, and exhibited the impulse and energy of the soul that animated them; furnishing ample illustration of the truth, that while the bony configuration of the head may exhibit the original capacity and propensities of the individual, the eye, and the muscles composing the soft features, alone indicate the activity and power actually exercised by the mind: as the

* Delaplaine's Repository.

beautiful sculpture of the vase is only displayed in perfection when lighted from within, so do the external movable features of the human form exhibit the animating principle that gives to them their expression and intelligence; in these alone the character of the man is delineated. The clay and the canvass of the most eminent artists of our country have frequently been employed to convey the image of his person for the gratification of his numerous friends, and the different public institutions which he has created, and whose interests he has promoted by his public services and his private benefactions.

“Mr. Clinton was as amiable in his private, as he was dignified in his public life. His great intellectual powers and attainments were adorned with a corresponding moral character, pure and unsullied. Although his life has been dedicated to the interests of his country, and expended in her service, he has left his numerous family in a state of comparative dependence. Like Hamilton, his illustrious predecessor in the hearts of his countrymen, although placed in situations where he had an opportunity of acquiring great wealth, and that without the least imputation upon his integrity, he preferred to forego these advantages, and to leave, as a legacy to his children, his unsullied integrity and poverty, in preference to wealth, and the possibility of a suspicion, that he may have acquired it by any act which could bear the construction of a sordid desire to render his office tributary to his private benefit, at the expense of the public good.

“By his enemies, he was pronounced proud and ambitious. He was proud, but his was not the pride that is usually understood as the synonyme of vanity; it was the consciousness of the merit and the powers he possessed, the purity of the principles by which he was governed, and of the deeds he had done; vanity knows no such merit, nor is entitled to those claims.

“He, too, was ambitious; but it was that ambition which is ever identified with virtue, and never associated but with virtuous deeds: the object of that ambition was his country’s welfare: true, he aspired to the high places and honors in the gift of his fellow-citizens; but it was to extend the horizon

of his usefulness; and he never sought them but as the reward of merit, and of services rendered.

"During all the severity and most violent spirit of party contention, his enemies never said aught to call in question the unsullied purity of his private deportment. In the domestic character of Mr. Clinton, we are called upon to admire his amiable temper, and the tender attachment he manifested to the members of his family, not excepting his domestics, who were uniformly treated by him with feeling and courtesy, and who, in return, were always devoted to their kind and benevolent protector.

"The affectionate intercourse and playful fondness he ever indulged towards his children, and the inordinate sensibilities and sufferings which he experienced from the bereavements he had occasion to sustain, also evince the purity and gentleness of his domestic life.

"The closing scenes of his illustrious life merit our regard. Having been the fellow-student of Mr. Clinton when at college, having been his physician from the time of his first marriage in 1795, and, during that period, been honored by his uninterrupted friendship, which has ever been that of an affectionate brother, I have been enabled to become familiarly acquainted with his constitutional peculiarities and temperament: these, it may be remarked, were of a nature so vigorous and excellent, that he enjoyed a greater exemption from disease than falls to the lot of most men. As already intimated, an accident some years since occurred, by which, to a certain extent, he was necessarily deprived of his accustomed exercise. Although temperate in the extreme in his habits of living, he soon became plethoric, at the same time that his confinement rendered him sensitive to the changes of the atmosphere. In the autumn of 1827, he was attacked with a catarrhal affection of the throat and chest. As is generally the case with those of a vigorous constitution, and who have long enjoyed uninterrupted health, he was impatient of the restraints which sickness imposes, and, to a degree, disregarded his disease, and, I might say, culpably omitted to employ the active means necessary for his relief. The result was a congestion of the heart and lungs, which ended in an effusion into the cavities of those

viscera, attended with a corresponding deposit in the cellular membrane of the lower extremities.

“During my last visit to Albany, the week immediately preceding his dissolution, I was very much surprised at the change which had taken place in the state of his health, and confidentially communicated to his eldest son, and to some of his connexions and friends, his imminently alarming situation: even, too, at this period, he was daily taking bodily exercise, performing with his characteristic alacrity and energy his official duties at the capitol, and his mind directed to every object except his health and his own immediate condition, of which he was ever too regardless, and at this time totally unmindful.

“Unprepared for these circumstances, and, indeed, told, upon my arrival in Albany, that he was recovering his health, which had been impaired, my feelings of surprise and pain, when I took my seat at his side, will be readily imagined: his anxious respiration, his anhelation upon the slightest motion, his livid countenance, his irregular and intermitting pulse, his swelling limbs, all indicated the dropsical, and, perhaps, organic affection of the heart and larger vessels, and at once pointed to the fatal issue thus confidently predicted.

“On the Friday preceding his death, after a long conversation I held with him in his library, I bade him a last farewell, under the fullest conviction, as I confidentially expressed to his more immediate friends, that I should never see Mr. Clinton more.

“On the Monday following, the 11th of February, he performed his ordinary duties at the capitol; rode a few miles into the country with his family; returned to town; met some friends at dinner, and afterwards, as was his habit, retired to his study for the transaction of business, and his accustomed literary pursuits. While sitting in his library, he was suddenly seized with a sense of oppression and stricture across the chest: he spoke to his son, sitting near him, who was then writing, performing some duty that had been directed by his father, described to him the distressful, and, as he feared, fatal sensation he experienced. Medical aid was instantly called

for. By the direction of his son, some drink was given him. He walked in the hall, but soon returned to his chair in the library; the hand of death was upon him; his head fell upon his breast. A physician arrived, but too late: all efforts, though unremittingly continued for some hours, to recall his parting spirit, proved unavailing: sense, consciousness, intelligence, had fled for ever: Clinton was no more. The heart-rending event was communicated to his agenized family; and, with the rapidity of an electric shock, pervaded the city; the house of mourning was instantly surrounded by his neighbors and numerous friends, who could scarcely credit the reality of his death. On the succeeding day, excepting the measures of respect for his memory and preparation for the funeral rites, all business was suspended: the legislative body, the numerous public institutions, literary, benevolent, commercial, all partake of the general gloom; their doors are closed; all unite in the universal lamentation; all, not excepting those who had been his political opponents, are now emulous to manifest their love and respect for his memory; to unite in expressions of the loss they had sustained, and in demonstrations of gratitude for his invaluable and disinterested services. The funeral obsequies are prepared; his remains are conveyed to the tomb, amid all the solemnities that respond to the deep sorrow with which every heart in the community is afflicted by this dispensation of Providence.

“To conclude: if the possession of strong native powers of mind, and those highly cultivated by extensive attainments in the different departments of human knowledge; if an innate spirit of patriotism, quickened and directed by an acquaintance with the various interests of his country, and a life devoted to the unceasing performance of public duty, and expended in the service of his native state, entitle their possessor to respectful notice, Mr. Clinton presents the strongest claims, not only to the affections of his countrymen, but to a distinguished place among the sages, statesmen and benefactors of the American republic. It is in the intellectual as in the natural world, although the expanse above is studded with an infinity of bodies, shedding and diffusing their portion of light, a certain number of greater magnitude and brilliancy com-

mand the more exclusive vision of the beholder, and are so many suns communicating their effulgence and influence to other and distant worlds. In like manner, there are some intellectual luminaries much more distinguished than are the ordinary sources of light and knowledge. The Grecian and Roman republics had their constellations of illustrious men—Themistocles and Epaminondas, Cincinnatus, Fabricius, and the Scipios. England has had her Lockes and her Newtons, her Chathams and her Cannings. And young as our own republic yet is, her galaxy is already brightened with illustrious names. It were injustice not to assign a like elevation to the transcendent mind of Mr. Clinton, whose name, associated with those of Washington, Hamilton, Franklin, Adams, Rittenhouse, Jefferson, Fulton, and other American worthies, will ever be identified with the existence of our country, and transmitted with increasing lustre to the latest posterity."

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

Thomas Addis Emmet was born in Cork, Ireland, about 1765, ten years before the revolution which separated this country from the British dominion. He was educated at the university of Dublin at an early period of life, and designed by his father for the profession of medicine. He was accordingly educated with this view, and entered on his medical studies in Edinburgh, Scotland. In completing his studies, Mr. Emmet visited many of the most celebrated schools on the continent, and travelled into Italy, to the banks of the Tiber, and the city of the seven hills, and passed through Germany. At the termination of his studies, a desolating misfortune occurred to his family, by the death of his elder brother, a member of the Irish bar, and a person of whom Mr. Emmet always speaks as one of the first men that Ireland ever produced. This calamity changed the mind of Mr. Emmet's father as to the course of life previously designed for his son; and, being determined to have one lawyer in his family, he desired Thomas Addis to go to the bar, to which

he cheerfully consented. He then went to London, and read two years in the temple, occasionally attended the courts at Westminster, and often heard Erskine in the noblest displays of his eloquence. From thence he returned to his native land, was admitted to the bar, and commenced his practice in Dublin, the future scene of his fame and his sufferings.

Mr. Emmet very soon rose to distinction at the Irish bar. He rode the circuit, and commanded a full share of business and confidence. He was the circuit and term companion of Curran, and even in Ireland, if I may credit the information of several Irish gentlemen, was his superior in talents, legal attainments and general information. But while fame and wealth were attending his ardent efforts at the bar, and the proudest seats of office and honor seemed not too high for his capacity and his aspirations, the gloom that overclouded his country—her long past sufferings—the dark and cheerless prospect that opened upon her destinies, engrossed the constant thoughts of all her patriots, and commanded the intense contemplation of every intelligent friend of his native soil. The French Revolution had burst forth on Europe like a volcano. It rent asunder the political relations which had endured for ages, tore up ancient institutions by the roots, and overturned the most arbitrary throne on the continent, if we except that of the emperor of all the Russias. It was hailed in Ireland as the day-spring of hope and freedom, and diffused over that green and beautiful island a silent but enthusiastic expectation of deliverance. The keen hostility which subsisted between France and Great Britain induced the former to cast her eyes on Ireland, although before, and about this time, many Irish agents of great talents and influence, had no doubt passed over to France, and urged her fluctuating government to give countenance and aid to an entire revolution in their country. Every pledge of support was made by the government of France. The Irish patriots acted with great independence and prudence. They would not consent that France should have any control over, or any participation in, the future government of Ireland. A certain number of troops were to land on the Irish coast, and to be united with the patriot forces.

The course pursued by France is recorded in history, and well known. She held out fair promises, but never acted with any system or resolution. The landing at Killala was a miserable effort. In fact, France did nothing for Ireland, but leave a curse on her deserted and fallen fortune on account of French alliance. When Napoleon became the head of the French nation, he left all beaten paths, and acted for himself. Whatever he might have thought of Ireland, he thought more of Napoleon, and his expedition to Egypt carried to the banks of the Nile the forces once designed by others for the liberation of Ireland.

After a short struggle in the field, and after a few scattering and ineffectual insurrections, in which perished some of the noblest spirits that Ireland ever saw, the patriots were vanquished, and the soul of the nation sunk within her. There was the end of Ireland's hopes, at least for generations. France, under the guidance of Napoleon, sought the conquest of Europe, and England was left to crush to powder her sister isle.

Among the illustrious victims of vengeance, the name of Thomas Addis Emmet maintains an exalted place. Without any specific allegation, or any overt act of treason, he was cast into prison, and never again permitted to enjoy his personal freedom in his native land. Mr. Emmet and several other state prisoners were confined in the prison of Kilmainham, in Dublin. He had acted throughout the rebellion with extreme caution. He had abstained from every thing that could render him liable to legal consequences, and, in fact, was not peculiarly obnoxious to government.

After having been confined, as a state prisoner, in Dublin, about a year, intelligence was received, that the French were about to make a descent upon Ireland, and Mr. Emmet, with several of his fellow-prisoners, was removed to Scotland, and imprisoned in fort George. Here they were confined for three years. Mrs. Emmet was permitted to join her husband, and never left him afterwards. During his confinement here, Mr. Emmet wrote part of an essay toward the history of Ireland, which was printed in New York in 1807, and deserves to be more extensively known. It displays great vigor of thought,

clearness of conception, and elegance of language, and will one day be read with great avidity and delight. Amid all his troubles, his mind remained firm and unbroken, full of vigor and industry :—

Exilium causa ipsa jubet sibi dulce videri,
Et desiderium dulce levat patria.

After the expiration of three years, the British government concluded to discharge the prisoners from fort George, and end their sufferings. A correspondence was opened with governor Stuart, and, after every thing was arranged, a list of pardons was sent him ; and here occurs an incident which deserves to be remembered in the life of Mr. Emmet. The list of pardons came, including every prisoner's name but his own. Governor Stuart sent for him, and, with evident emotion, told him the fact. For Mr. Emmet there was no pardon, and he was doomed still to remain a state prisoner. Neither governor Stuart nor Mr. Emmet could divine the cause of this want of lenity in his case. After a moment of deep reflection, silence and anxiety, governor Stuart said, in a decided tone, “Mr. Emmet, you shall go ; I will take all hazards and all responsibility ; you shall go to-morrow with the rest of the prisoners, and I will stand between you and the government.” The next morning, Mr. Emmet left the shores of Scotland, associated with many painful and some pleasant and grateful recollections.

Mr. Emmet and his lady, and the other nineteen prisoners, were escorted to the frigate which was sent to convey them to the continent of Europe, with waving banners and joyful acclamations. It was a kind of triumphal procession, in which officers and men, subjects and rulers, all joined ; for there was no feeling towards the prisoners at fort George, but love, sympathy and good will. All rejoiced in their liberation. Mr. Emmet went to France, where he remained some time. Of the particulars of his residence there I am not in possession. His health was considerably impaired, and it is probable that he did little more than recover his health and reclaim a shattered constitution. There was no hope of doing any thing

more for Ireland, and he turned his thoughts to the only secure refuge from oppression—the United States.

In 1804, we find Thomas Addis Emmet a resident of our own country. He now moves on a new theatre, and occupies a wide space in the consideration of a people to whom he was hitherto a stranger. He is no longer embarked in the troubled scenes of Europe. He commenced his career in the service of his country, to aid in conducting a most important revolution to a successful issue, and he failed in his attempt. About six years of the most valuable part of his life had been lost by imprisonment and the calamities attendant on the part which he acted. He now commences a new career, and with what success, this narrative may present some slight proof.

When Mr. Emmet came to the United States, he was about 40 years of age. His fortune had been broken, and he had a family to sustain and educate. For some time he doubted which profession he would pursue—that of medicine or the law. He was competent to undertake either.

In compliance with the advice of his friends, he selected the legal profession, and was soon after admitted to the bar of New York.

Mr. Emmet now commenced that splendid career at the American bar, that has not only elevated the character of the profession, but reflected back a lustre on his native land. The Irish bar have reason to be proud of the exile who has so essentially aided in giving immortality to Irish genius. Very soon after Mr. Emmet appeared at our bar, he was employed in a case peculiarly well calculated for the display of his extraordinary powers. Several slaves had escaped from a neighboring state, and found a refuge here. Their masters seized them, and the rights of these masters became a matter of controversy. Mr. Emmet, I have been informed, was retained by the society of Friends—the real, steady, ardent and persevering friends of humanity and justice—and of course espoused the cause of the slaves. His effort is said to have been overwhelming. The novelty of his manner, the enthusiasm which he exhibited, his broad, Irish accent, his pathos

and violence of gesture, created a variety of sensations in the audience. His republican friends said that his fortune was made, and they were right.

In 1807, Mr. Emmet appeared before the American public in a controversy with Rufus King. Mr. King was the federal candidate for governor of the state of New York. Mr. Emmet, on political and personal grounds, was opposed to his election. At a meeting of the Hibernian Society, he broke out in an eloquent appeal to his countrymen and brethren, and urged them to rally and imbody against Mr. King. This roused the temper of Mr. King's friends, and the federal papers, especially the New York Evening Post, poured a torrent of invective on the head of Mr. Emmet. Severe epithets and hard names were applied to him. He had seen political war before, and was not to have his lips sealed at this time. He addressed two letters to Mr. King, and the last was long and severe.

Mr. Emmet's course in 1807, and his ardor and firmness as a republican, identified him with the republican party. He never courted station or public trust; his theatre was the *forum*. In August, 1812, the council of appointment conferred upon him the office of attorney-general of the state of New York. This was a post of honor, but could not add to his professional fame or emolument. He held the office but for a short time, and has never since sought or received any public appointment.

The mind of Thomas Addis Emmet is of the highest order. His penetration is deep, his views comprehensive, his distinctions remarkably nice. His powers of investigation are vigorous and irresistible. If there be any thing in a subject, he will go to the bottom. He probes boldly, reaches the lowest depths by his researches, analyzes every thing, and embraces the whole ground. He may be said to have a mind well adapted to profound and powerful investigation. In the next place, he has great comprehension. He sees a subject in all its bearings and relations. He traces out all its various operations. He begins at the centre, and diverges, until it becomes necessary again to return to the centre. As a reasoner—a bare, strict reasoner—Mr. Emmet would always be placed in

an elevated rank. No matter how dry, how difficult, how repulsive the topic; no matter what may be its intricacies and perplexities, if any man can unfold and amplify it, he is equal to the task.

Mr. Emmet is a lawyer of great and faithful legal research. He has consulted books with as much fidelity and perseverance as any man at the American bar. Perhaps he has not done this with so much system as appears in the study of many others; a constant pressure of business may have prevented study upon abstract principles, with bare views of gaining knowledge; but in his day, he has spared nothing in the compass of his reading. He has gone back to the black-letter, and come down to all the modern works that weigh down the shelves of our libraries, in the shape of reports and elementary treatises. In his arguments, he calls up all the authorities applicable to his case; and, what is of great consequence in the character of a finished lawyer, these authorities shed light on the subject matter of discussion.

Mr. Emmet cites with accuracy, and courts very much rely on his discernment—a character, by the way, of immense importance to an advocate. Courts soon measure a lawyer's understanding. If he wants perspicuity and clearness—if he minglest and confuses—he is sure to mislead, if he command respect and credence. Hence he will not long find countenance in legal tribunals. Mr. Emmet is not fond of resorting to the civil law, the *corpus juris civilis*. He occasionally draws from this fountain, but reposes generally on the common law. The text of the civil law is in his library, and the works of most of the commentators on this text; but my apprehension is, that he has only consulted this grand body of jurisprudence in extraordinary cases.

The subject of this memoir is not less distinguished for his knowledge of the theory of the law than he is of the practice. As a special pleader, he has great experience and precision. And whoever looks through the decisions of cases in the New York reports, and those argued in the supreme court at Washington, where he has been concerned, will be convinced of the fact here asserted. It has been said, that while Erskine

dazzled, charmed and astonished all who heard him in Westminster Hall, the hard head and watchful skill of the nisi prius lawyer was always perceptible. Mr. Emmet, while he displays wonderful powers of eloquence, and indulges in bursts of lofty and noble sentiment, and appeals to the great moral maxims that must govern men in this world while we have laws, morals, and obedience to order, never forgets the landmarks of professional watchfulness: he is still the well disciplined lawyer, contending for his client.

As a classical scholar, but few men can stand before Mr. Emmet in point of attainments. He is familiar with the great writers of antiquity—the master spirits who have infused their genius and their sentiments into the popular feelings of ages which have rolled on long after the poet and the orator, the statesman and the historian, have ceased to glow, to speak, to guide, or to write. He has closely consulted those oracles of wisdom, those disciples of philosophy, those sons of the muses, whose opinions, sentiments and effusions lighten the sorrows of human existence, inspire the mind with noble ideas, and cheer the ardent and persevering devotions of the student. The man of whom I speak is more intimately acquainted with the poets of Greece and Rome, than with the prose writers. at least such is the fact evinced in his speeches and conversation. Virgil and Horace are always on his tongue, and Juvenal is sometimes called to his aid. There is a reason for this kind of learning in Mr. Emmet. His early education was in the schools of Europe. He had all the discipline and all the primitive advantages peculiar to those schools. The Latin and the Greek tongues were introduced to his notice when yet a child, and for years they were his daily companions. The writings of the British classics he has also consulted with a delight and advantage which often appear in his arguments Shakspeare, in particular, he often quotes.

One of the greatest charms of Mr. Emmet's eloquence, is the fancy which he continually displays. He possesses an imagination boundless as the world of light, grandeur and beauty. Its flights are bold—its pictures soft, magnificent or awful, as the subject may require. This power is greater in Mr. Emmet than in any other lawyer whom I have ever heard.

It enables him to shed a charm over every subject which he touches. To the most dry and meager topic he can impart interest and attraction. All his figures indicate taste and propriety. They are often bold and daring, and frequently show very great accuracy and precision of language. It falls to his province to impress on the mind of every hearer a recollection as lasting as life. No man who ever heard him for an hour can forget his figure, his face, his manner, and a great part of his very language. Some of his peculiar figures of speech would be well remembered.

Mr. Emmet's appearance and manners are plain and simple in the extreme. His dress is wholly unstudied. Every thing, however, shows the most perfect delicacy of feeling. Modest, unassuming, unobtrusive, and perfectly polite, he would alone attract the attention of a stranger by that amiable temper and obliging disposition that manifested themselves on all occasions. I do not consider him an eloquent or a powerful man in ordinary conversation. His remarks are generally appropriate, and well adapted to passing colloquial scenes. He speaks with sense and intelligence; but he discovers nothing of the man he is, unless called out by an occasion sufficient to awaken his mind and create excitement.

In his private character, the object of this memoir is without a blemish. Generous, humane, obliging, and strictly honest; a heart open, frank and ardent; upright in all his dealings; rigid and austere in his habits; temperate and rational in all his enjoyments; liberal, and free from prejudice upon every subject; kind and affectionate as a husband, a father, and a friend; anxious to do good and diminish evil. Such a man is Mr. Emmet.

The circumstances attending the death of Mr. Emmet are worthy of notice. Early in November, 1827, he had been much engaged in the defence of lieutenant Percival, on a charge of extortion, and also in a cause of unusual importance, generally called the great Astor case, involving the right of Mr. Astor to lands in Putnam county, to the amount of perhaps \$800,000. In the former case, he defended his client with all his accustomed vigor and ability, and the result was a verdict of acquittal. In the latter, on Monday, the 12th, he

addressed the jury in a style of animated eloquence, of prompt and overwhelming retort, and of powerful argument, which was said by many of his audience to have even surpassed his earlier efforts. On Wednesday, the 14th, while attending the trial of another cause of importance, (the case of the Sailors' Snug Harbor,) in which he was counsel, in the United States' Circuit Court, he was seized with an apoplectic fit; and, on being carried home, he expired in the course of the following night, being in the 63d year of his age. He had made no exertion, in particular, that day, but had taken notes of the testimony through the morning, and, on examination, these notes were found to be a full and accurate transcript of what occurred up to the very moment when the pen fell from his hand on his being seized with a fit. The scene in the court-room was in the highest degree impressive. Every individual present—the court, the bar, the audience, all were absorbed in the most anxious interest for the fate of this eminent man. The court was instantly adjourned. When his death was known, the expression of sorrow and respect was universal. His funeral was attended by the members of the bar, the students at law, and a crowd of other citizens, all desirous to pay their tribute of respect to the memory of the great deceased. A neat monument of white marble has since been placed in the wall of the apartment where Mr. Emmet was seized with the fatal illness. It is surmounted with his bust, and bears the following inscription :

THOMÆ . ADDIS . EMMET

VIRO

DOCTRINA . IURE . SCIENTIA . ELOQUENTIA

PRÆSTANTISSIMO

INTER . HÆC . SUBSELLIA . ET . OFFICII . MUNERA

SUBITA . MORTE . CORREPTO

SOCII . FORENSES . POSUERANT.*

* Haines's Memoir.

WILLIAM FLOYD.

William Floyd was born on the 17th of December, 1734, and was the son of an opulent and respectable landholder, in the county of Suffolk, upon Long Island. His education though liberal for the times, was chiefly confined to the useful branches of knowledge; and was hardly completed, when he was called upon, by the death of his father, to assume the management of his patrimonial estate. His early life was spent in the circle of an extensive family connexion, which comprised the most respectable families in the county.

He early embarked in the controversy with Great Britain, and was appointed one of the delegates, from New York, to the first continental congress, which met in Philadelphia, in 1774. In that patriotic and venerable assembly, he was associated with men whose names are identified with their country's birth, and will long be cherished in grateful remembrance.

Previous to his attendance in congress, Mr. Floyd had been appointed to the command of the militia of the county of Suffolk, and, upon his return, he found Long Island menaced with an invasion from a naval force assembled in Gardiner's bay, with the avowed object of gathering supplies. When the landing of the enemy was reported to him, he promptly assembled the force under his command, and marched to the point of attack. It was, perhaps, fortunate for his little army, composed of raw and undisciplined militia, that the terror of their approach left nothing for their arms to accomplish. The activity displayed, however, had an important effect in inducing the enemy to abandon their design.

In April, 1775, having been again chosen, by the provincial assembly of New York, a delegate to the general congress of the colonies, he took his seat in the second continental congress, which met at Philadelphia on the 10th of May following, and continued a constant attendant for more than two years. As a member of this congress, general Floyd united with his illustrious associates in boldly dissolving the political bonds which connected the colonies to the British crown, and co-operated in the arduous and responsible task of arraying them

in hostility to the British empire. Under circumstances of danger and distress, with difficulties almost insurmountable, and embarrassments the most complicated, they were raised from the posture of supplication, and clothed in the armor of war.

During this interesting and protracted session, general Floyd was constantly and actively employed in the discharge of his public duties, to which he bestowed the most unremitting attention. He was chosen on numerous and important committees, the details of which were complicated, difficult, and, in many cases, extremely laborious. In procuring supplies for the army, in forwarding the expedition ordered against Canada, and particularly in introducing an efficient organization of the militia, (which may be said to have been the mother of the regular army,) as well as in many other matters, to which his attention was particularly directed by congress, he was enabled, by his experience and habits of business, to render essential service.

During his attendance in congress, Long Island was evacuated by the American troops, and occupied by those of Great Britain. His family, in consequence of this event, were driven from their home in great haste and confusion, and were removed by his friends into Connecticut. The produce and stock of his estate were seized by the enemy, and the mansion house selected as the rendezvous for a party of horse, by whom it was occupied during the remainder of the war. This event was the source of serious inconvenience to him, as it precluded him from deriving any benefit from his landed property for nearly seven years, and left him without a house for himself and his family.

On the 8th of May, 1777, general Floyd was appointed a senator of the state of New York, under the constitution of the state, which had then recently been adopted. On the 13th of May, the provincial convention passed a resolution that the thanks of the convention be given to him and his colleagues, "delegates of the state of New York in the honorable the continental congress, for their long and faithful services rendered the colony of New York and to the said state."

On the 9th of September, 1777, he took his seat in the senate of New York, at their first session under the new constitution. This being the first constitutional legislature since the colonial assembly was dissolved, it devolved upon them to organize the government, and adopt a code of laws, suited to existing circumstances. Of this body he became a leading and influential member, and attended in his place, with some short intervals, until the 6th of November, 1778, when they adjourned.

On the 15th of October, 1778, he was unanimously re-elected a delegate to the continental congress, by a joint ballot of the senate and assembly, and on the 2d of January following, resumed his seat in that body, where he soon became actively employed on numerous committees, and continued in attendance until the 9th of June, when he obtained leave of absence.

General Floyd was, by subsequent appointments, continued in high public stations during the greater part of his life. During his long attendance in the councils of the general and state governments, he maintained a high and enviable rank. The frequent and constant proofs of popular favor, which he received for more than 50 years, afford the most flattering commentary upon his public character.

Having, in the year 1784, purchased a tract of land, then uninhabited, upon the Mohawk river, and finding himself more at leisure, he undertook the improvement of it, and, although he was now at an advanced period of life, succeeded, after devoting several successive summers to that object, in transforming it into a number of well cultivated farms. The western portion of the state of New York was at this time emerging from the wilderness of nature, and, attracted by the extraordinary fertility of the soil, he determined, in the year 1803, to transfer his residence to his new estate.

In the year 1800, he was chosen one of the electors of president and vice-president of the United States. His feelings had been excited by the conduct of the previous administration, endangering, as he thought, the permanency of our institutions; and neither the precarious state of his health, the

remonstrances of his friends, nor a journey of 200 miles in the month of December, could prevent him from attending to support his early political friend and associate, Mr. Jefferson.

In 1801, he was elected a member of the convention to revise the constitution of the state of New York, and, at a subsequent period, served twice as presidential elector. At the earnest solicitation of his friends, he was once more elected a senator from the senatorial district into which he had removed, but, from the advanced period of his life, he was unable to bestow much attention to his public duties. In 1820, although he was unable, from the infirmities of age, to leave his home, he was again complimented with being named upon the electoral college.

After having enjoyed, for 87 years, a life of almost uninterrupted health, he expired on the 4th of August, 1821.

In private life he was fond of society, but always observed a measured decorum, which repressed familiarity, and chilled every approach of intimacy. He was highly respected in the society in which he lived, and has left to his descendants a name of which they will long be proud.*

—

ROBERT FULTON.

Robert Fulton, eminent as the inventor of steam-boats, was born in the town of Little Britain, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, 1765. His parents, who were Irish, were respectable, and gave him a common English education at Lancaster. He early exhibited a superior talent for mechanism and painting, and in his 18th year established himself in the latter employment in Philadelphia, and obtained much credit and emolument by his portraits and landscapes. On entering his 22d year, he went to England, for the purpose of improving his knowledge of that art, and was received into the family of Mr. West, with whom he spent several years, and cultivated a warm friendship. After leaving that family, he employed two years in Devonshire as a painter, and there became acquainted

* Sanderson.

with the duke of Bridgewater, and lord Stanhope, the former famous for his canals, and the latter for his love of the mechanic arts. He soon turned his attention to mechanics, particularly to the improvement of inland navigation by canals, and the use of steam for the propelling of boats, and, in 1794, obtained patents for a double inclined plane, to be used for transportation, and an instrument to be employed in excavating canals. He at this time professed himself a civil engineer, and published a treatise on canal navigation. He soon after went to France, and obtained a patent from the government for the improvements he had invented. He spent the succeeding seven years in Paris, in the family of Mr. Joel Barlow, during which period he made himself acquainted with the French, Italian and German languages, and soon acquired a knowledge of the high mathematics, physics, chemistry and perspective. He soon turned his attention to submarine navigation and explosion, and, in 1801, under the patronage of the first consul, constructed a plunging boat, and torpedoes, (differing materially from Bushnel's invention, with which he was acquainted,) with which he performed many experiments in the harbor of Brest, demonstrating the practicability of employing subaqueous explosion and navigation for the destruction of vessels. These inventions attracted the attention of the British government, and overtures were made to him by the ministry, which induced him to go to London, with the hope that they would avail themselves of his machines; but a demonstration of their efficacy which he gave the ministry, by blowing up a vessel in their presence, led them to wish to suppress the invention rather than encourage it; and accordingly they declined patronising him. During this period, he also made many efforts to discover a method of successfully using the steam-engine for the propelling of boats, and, as early as 1793, made such experiments as inspired him with great confidence in its practicability. Robert R. Livingston, esq., chancellor of New York, and minister of the United States to the French court, on his arrival in France, induced him to renew his attention to this subject, and embarked with him in making experiments for the purpose of satisfying themselves of the possibility of employing steam in

navigation. Mr. Fulton engaged with intense interest in the trial, and, in 1803, constructed a boat on the river Seine, at their joint expense, by which he fully evinced the practicability of propelling boats by that agent. He immediately resolved to enrich his country with this invaluable discovery, and, on returning to New York, in 1806, commenced, in conjunction with Mr. Livingston, the construction of the first Fulton boat, which was launched in the spring of 1807 from the ship-yard of Charles Browne, New York, and completed in August. This boat, which was called the Clermont, demonstrated, on the first experiment, to a host of at first incredulous, but at length astonished spectators, the correctness of his expectations, and the value of his invention. Between this period and his death, he superintended the erection of 14 other steam-vessels, and made great improvements in their construction. He obtained a patent for his inventions in navigation by steam in February, 1809, and another for some improvements in 1811. In the latter year, he was appointed, by the legislature of New York, one of the commissioners to explore a route for a canal from the great lakes to the Hudson, and engaged with zeal in the promotion of that great work. On the commencement of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain in 1812, he renewed his attention to submarine warfare, and contrived a method of discharging guns under water, for which he obtained a patent. In 1814, he contrived an armed steamship for the defence of the harbor of New York, and also a submarine vessel, or plunging boat, of such dimensions as to carry 100 men, the plans of which being approved by government, he was authorized to construct them at the public expense. But before completing either of those works, he died suddenly, February 24th, 1815. His person was tall, slender and well formed, his manners graceful and dignified, and his disposition generous. His attainments and inventions bespeak the high superiority of his talents. He was an accomplished painter, was profoundly versed in mechanics, and possessed an invention of great fertility, and which was always directed by an eminent share of good sense. His style, as a writer, was perspicuous and energetic. To him is to be ascribed the honor of inventing a method of successfully employing the

steam-engine in navigation, an invention justly considered one of the most important which has been made in modern ages, and by which he rendered himself both a perpetual and one of the greatest benefactors of mankind. He was not, indeed, the first who conceived it to be possible; others had believed its practicability, and made many attempts to propel boats by steam, but, having neither his genius, his knowledge, nor his perseverance, they were totally unsuccessful. Mr. Fulton was familiarly acquainted with many of the most distinguished literary and political characters both of the United States and of Europe, was a director of the American academy of fine arts, and a member of several literary and philosophical societies.*

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

General Alexander Hamilton was a native of the island of St. Croix, and was born in 1757. His father was the youngest son of an English family, and his mother was an American. At the age of 16, he accompanied his mother to New York, and entered a student of Columbia college, in which he continued about three years. While a member of this institution, the first buddings of his intellect gave presages of his future eminence.

The contest with Great Britain called forth the first talents on each side, and his juvenile pen asserted the claims of the colonies against very respectable writers. His papers exhibited such evidence of intellect and wisdom, that they were ascribed to Mr. Jay; and when the truth was discovered, America saw, with astonishment, a lad of 17 in the list of her able advocates.

At the age of 18, he entered the American army, as an officer of artillery. It was not long before he attracted the notice of Washington, who, in 1777, selected him as an aid, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. His sound understanding, comprehensive views, application, and promptitude, soon gained him the entire confidence of his patron.

* Lord.

Hamilton served as first aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. At the siege of Yorktown, he led, at his own request, the American detachment that carried by assault one of the enemy's outworks, on the 14th of October, 1781. On these occasions, his valor was daring and chivalrous. In the latter affair, which, though small, was brilliant and masterly, he displayed, in a very signal degree, the higher and more heroic quality of mercy towards the vanquished. In addition to the sanction of usage and precedent, he had a strong temptation to put to the sword the defenders of the redoubt, in retaliation of the murderous atrocities which had been recently committed by the enemy at fort Griswold. But, to magnanimity like his, the works of mercy were more congenial than those of vengeance: he, therefore, regardless of the past, and listening only to the voice of humanity, sheathed the sword when resistance had ceased.

Soon after the capture of Cornwallis, Hamilton, at the age of 25, applied to the study of law. In this profession, he soon rose to distinction. A few years after, more important concerns demanded his talents. He was appointed, in 1787, a member of the federal convention for New York, and assisted in forming the constitution of our country. By his pen, in the papers signed Publius, and by his voice in the convention of New York, he contributed much to its adoption.

On the organization of the federal government, in the summer of 1789, he was appointed to the office of secretary of the treasury. The duties of that department, intrinsically arduous, and essentially connected with high responsibilities, were confessedly, at the time, increased in difficulty by the co-operation of temporary but powerful causes. As no statistical account of the country had ever been attempted, its fiscal resources were wholly unknown. Add to this, that the habits and feelings of the people were far from being favorable to the organization of an efficient and permanent system of finance. But the mind of Hamilton was not formed to be intimidated or vanquished. It rose in greatness in proportion to the difficulties it had to encounter. During his continuance at the head of the treasury, a term of between five and six years, his man-

ifestations of genius and talent were vast and varied—far beyond even the exalted promise of his former achievements. He proved himself capable not only of arranging, combining and maturing, but of creating, the means necessary for the attainment of the weightiest purposes. He perceived, as by intuition, the true character and resources of the country, and devised, with equal facility, the best plan of converting them into a basis of national revenue.

In his system of finance, there was nothing unnatural, and, therefore, nothing forced. So perfect were the correspondence and adjustment between the means, the subject and the end, that all things he aimed at sprang up under his touch, as if nature herself had called them into existence. They rose and flourished like the productions of a fertile soil, when awakened by the influence of the vernal sun. From the most humble and depressed condition, he raised the public credit to an elevation altogether unprecedented in the history of the country, and acquired for himself, both at home and abroad, the reputation of the greatest financier of the age.

When a provisional army was raised, in 1798, in consequence of the injuries and demands of France, Washington suspended his acceptance of the command of it, on the condition that Hamilton should be his associate, and the second in command. This arrangement was accordingly made. After the adjustment of our dispute with the French republic, and the discharge of the army, he returned to the bar, and never again appeared in any official capacity. He was too much attached, however, to the welfare of his country not to feel, during such portentous times, a deep interest in public affairs. While he viewed, with all the solicitude of a patriot, the course of events both in Europe and America, he scrutinized them with the knowledge and discernment of a great statesman, and drew from them the lessons of an experienced sage.

In the mean time, his fame as an advocate and a counsellor continued to brighten, the last exertion of his genius and talents being still considered by those who heard him the greatest and best. He had now before him a flattering prospect of acquiring for his family the independence of wealth—





Illinoian & Tiffey, Sc.

ALLEX. HAMILTON.

a consideration which, in his devotion to his country, he had heretofore neglected.

In this flourishing state of his fortune and renown, a political opposition which had long subsisted between him and colonel Burr, then vice-president of the United States, ripened, at length, into a personal misunderstanding. Between characters of a keen and chivalrous sense of honor, to whom an affront or a slight is more painful than a wound, and who are prone to take counsel of their feelings rather than their judgment, an event of the kind is replete with danger. A reputed stain on the reputation of either can be washed away by nothing but blood.

In June, 1804, general Hamilton received from colonel Burr a note, requiring, in language that was deemed offensive, an acknowledgment or a disavowal, touching certain expressions, which he was unable to make. This led to a correspondence, which, after every honorable effort by the former to prevent extremities, terminated in a challenge on the part of the latter. By a man conspicuous in the eyes of Europe and America, and looking forward to certain contingencies which might call him again into military life, an acceptance was considered unavoidable.

As well from a reluctance to shed the blood of an individual in single combat, as from an apprehension that he might, in some unguarded moment, have spoken of colonel Burr in terms of unmerited severity, general Hamilton determined to receive the fire of his antagonist, and to reserve his own. This determination he communicated to his second, who, after a friendly remonstrance, acquiesced in the measure.

On the morning of the 11th of July, 1804, the parties met at Hoboken, on the New Jersey shore, the very spot where, a short time previously, general Hamilton's eldest son had fallen in a duel.

The tragical issue is known to the world. The challenger was an adept in the use of the pistol; the party challenged much less so, had he even come to the ground with a fatal intention. The terms of the combat were, therefore, unequal.

On the first fire, Hamilton received the ball of his antagonist, and immediately fell. For a time, the wound threatened to prove speedily mortal ; he was even thought, by those present, to be already dead. He recovered, however, from the first shock, and survived until 2 o'clock P. M. of the following day, when he expired, in the 47th year of his age.

During the short period that intervened between the fatal accident and his death, he exhibited to all who approached him a most sublime and interesting spectacle. In a body almost lifeless, yet suffering, at times, extreme agony, his great mind retained its usual serenity and strength. Towards his family and friends the warmth and tenderness of his affections were increased. He uttered, in strong terms, his deep abhorrence of the practice of duelling, declared that, in principle, he had been always opposed to it, and left against it his dying testimony. He expressed, moreover, his sincere sorrow and penitence at having been engaged in it himself, declared his resolution, should he recover from his wound, never again to be guilty of a similar act, professed his belief in the Christian religion, and participated largely of the comforts which it offered.

Throughout the United States, his premature fall excited emotions of sorrow that were inferior only to those that had resulted from the death of Washington. For a time, political distinctions were swallowed up in his loss ; and, with a magnanimity in a high degree honorable to them, those who had been hitherto opposed to him in public measures, united with his friends in doing homage to his memory, and lamenting his death as a national calamity.

Such honors Ilium to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade.

Although in person below the middle stature, and somewhat deficient in elegance of figure, general Hamilton possessed a very striking and manly appearance. By the most superficial observer he could never be regarded as a common individual. His head, which was large, was formed on the finest model, resembling somewhat the Grecian antique. His forehead was spacious and elevated, his nose projecting, but

inclining to the aquiline, his eyes gray, keen at all times, and, when animated by debate, intolerably piercing, and his mouth and chin well proportioned and handsome. These two latter, although not his strongest, were his most pleasing features; yet the form of his mouth was expressive of eloquence, more especially of persuasion. He was remarkable for a deep depression between his nose and forehead, and a contraction of his brows, which gave to the upper part of his countenance an air of sternness. The lower part was the emblem of mildness and benignity.

In his dress he was plain, in his disposition social, in his manners easy and affable, in his affections warm, in his friendships steady, in his feelings ardent, and in his general deportment a well-bred gentleman.

General Hamilton possessed very uncommon powers of mind. To whatever subject he directed his attention, he was able to grasp it, and in whatever he engaged, in that he excelled. So stupendous were his talents, and so patient was his industry, that no investigation presented difficulties which he could not conquer. In the class of men of intellect, he held the first rank. His eloquence was of the most interesting kind, and when new exertions were required, he rose in new strength, and, touching at his pleasure every string of pity or terror, of indignation or grief, he bent the passions of others to his purpose. At the bar, he gained the first eminence.

He undoubtedly discovered the predominance of a soldier's feelings; and all that is honor in the character of a soldier, was at home in his heart. His early education was in the camp; there the first fervors of his genius were poured forth, and his earliest and most cordial friendships formed; there he became enamored of Glory, and was admitted to her embrace.*

HENRY HUDSON.

Henry Hudson, the discoverer of our state, was an eminent English navigator. Of the place of his birth, the manner in which he was educated, and the private circumstances of his

* Allen's Biography. Ames's Sketch.

life, we have no account. He first made his appearance in 1607, and, during the three following years, immortalized his name by a series of the most brilliant discoveries.

Of his most important discoveries, and the manner of his death, some account has already been given. While on a voyage of discovery, a mutiny broke out among his crew, and Hudson was bound, and, with his son John, and seven of the most infirm of his men, put into an open boat, and abandoned to their fate, at the west end of the straits that now bear his name. The crew then proceeded to England; but, landing near the mouth of the strait, four of them were killed by the savages. The remainder, after enduring the most severe sufferings, arrived at Plymouth, September, 1611.*

"The sensation produced in London, upon the disclosure of these tragical events, may be conceived to have been very great. Such, indeed, was the interest felt in England, that the London company, prompted by the benevolent motive of searching for Hudson and his companions, flattered also by the hope of discovering an unexplored passage at the west side of the bay, fitted out another expedition the following year, which, after wintering, returned, disappointed in both objects of search.

"Hudson had become deservedly a favorite with a large portion of the British public. The English long regretted the loss of their countryman, whose achievements as a navigator had reflected honor on a nation already distinguished for its illustrious seamen. Hudson's personal qualities and virtues, displayed during four voyages, at times which were calculated to try character, will ever be contemplated with admiration and pleasure; but to the citizens of the state of New York, the character of this heroic navigator will be peculiarly the theme of eulogium, and his misfortunes the subject of regret.

"Hudson was not faultless; but no record imputes to his conduct any crime or wilful vice. He had at times that irritability of passion, which is so peculiarly the trait of those whose lives are passed upon the ocean. But few, who have

* Allen.

so conflicted with its dangers, and at the same time combated the turbulent dispositions of mutinous crews, could have preserved presence of mind, exercised moderation, and displayed magnanimity, in a more exalted manner than Hudson. His faults, whatever they were, are eclipsed by the splendor of his virtues. When the river, which he discovered, shall display upon its banks, in a range of 300 miles, a free, vigorous and intelligent population, crowded into numerous additional cities, villages, seats and farm-houses, the merits of Hudson will be reiterated with increased praise, while his name shall be handed down from generation to generation.”*

FRANCIS LEWIS.

Francis Lewis was a native of Landaff, in South Wales, where he was born in the year 1713. His father was a clergyman, belonging to the established church. His mother was the daughter of doctor Pettingal, who was also a clergyman of the episcopal establishment, and had his residence in North Wales. At the early age of four or five years, being left an orphan, the care of him devolved upon a maternal maiden aunt, who took singular pains to have him instructed in the native language of his country. He was afterwards sent to Scotland, where, in the family of a relation, he acquired a knowledge of the Gaelic. From this, he was transferred to the school of Westminster, where he completed his education, and enjoyed the reputation of being a good classical scholar.

Mercantile pursuits being his object, he entered the counting-room of a London merchant; where, in a few years, he acquired a competent knowledge of the profession. On attaining to the age of 21 years, he collected the property which had been left him by his father, and, having converted it into merchandise, he sailed for New York, where he arrived in the spring of 1735.

Leaving a part of his goods to be sold in New York, by Mr. Edward Annesly, with whom he had formed a commercial

* Yates and Moulton.

connexion, he transported the remainder to Philadelphia, whence, after a residence of two years, he returned to the former city, and there became extensively engaged in navigation and foreign trade. About this time, he connected himself by marriage with the sister of his partner, by whom he had several children.

Mr. Lewis acquired the character of an active and enterprising merchant. In the course of his commercial transactions, he traversed a considerable part of the continent of Europe. He visited several of the seaports of Russia, the Orkney and Shetland islands, and twice suffered shipwreck off the Irish coast.

During the French or Canadian war, Mr. Lewis was, for a time, agent for supplying the British troops. In this capacity, he was present at the time when, in August, 1756, the fort of Oswego was surrendered to the distinguished French general de Montcalm. The fort was, at that time, commanded by the British colonel Mersey. On the 10th of August, Montcalm approached it, with more than 5000 Europeans, Canadians and Indians. On the 12th, at midnight, he opened the trenches, with 32 pieces of cannon, besides several brass mortars and howitzers. The garrison having fired away all their shells and ammunition, colonel Mersey ordered the cannon to be spiked, and crossed the river to Little Oswego fort, without the loss of a single man. Of the deserted fort the enemy took immediate possession, and from it began a fire, which was kept up without intermission. The next day, colonel Mersey was killed while standing by the side of Mr. Lewis.

The garrison, being thus deprived of their commander, their fort destitute of a cover, and no prospect of aid presenting itself, demanded a capitulation, and surrendered as prisoners of war. The garrison consisted, at this time, of the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, and amounted to 1400 men. The conditions required and acceded to were, that they should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. The services rendered by Mr. Lewis, during the war, were held in such consideration by the

British government, that, at the close of it, he received a grant of 5000 acres of land.

The conditions upon which the garrison at fort Oswego surrendered to Montcalm were shamefully violated by that commander. They were assured of kind treatment; but no sooner had the surrender been made, than Montcalm allowed the chief warrior of the Indians, who assisted in taking the fort, to select about 30 of the prisoners, and do with them as he pleased. Of this number Mr. Lewis was one. Placed thus at the disposal of savage power, a speedy and cruel death was to be expected. The tradition is, however, that he soon discovered that he was able to converse with the Indians, by reason of the similarity of the ancient language of Wales, which he understood, to the Indian dialect. The ability of Mr. Lewis thus readily to communicate with the chief, so pleased the latter, that he treated him kindly; and, on arriving at Montreal, he requested the French governor to allow him to return to his family without ransom. The request, however, was not granted, and Mr. Lewis was sent as a prisoner to France, from which country, being some time after exchanged, he returned to America.

This tradition as to the cause of the liberation of Mr. Lewis is incorrect; no such affinity existing between the *Cymreag*, or ancient language of Wales, and the language of any of the Indian tribes found in North America. The cause might have been, and probably was, some unusual occurrence, or adventure; but of its precise nature we are not informed.

Although Mr. Lewis was not born in America, his attachment to the country was coeval with his settlement in it. He early espoused the patriotic cause, against the encroachments of the British government, and was among the first to unite with an association, which existed in several parts of the country, called the *sons of liberty*, the object of which was to concert measures against the exercise of an undue power on the part of the mother country.

The independent and patriotic character which Mr. Lewis was known to possess, the uniform integrity of his life, the distinguished intellectual powers with which he was endued,

all pointed him out as a proper person to assist in taking charge of the interest of the colony in the continental congress. Accordingly, in April, 1775, he was unanimously elected a delegate to that body. In this honorable station he was continued by the provincial congress of New York, through the following year, 1776; and was among the number who declared the colonies forever absolved from their allegiance to the British crown, and, from that time, entitled to the rank and privileges of free and independent states.

In several subsequent years, he was appointed to represent the state in the national legislature. During his congressional career, Mr. Lewis was distinguished for a becoming zeal in the cause of liberty, tempered by the influence of a correct judgment and a cautious prudence. He was employed in several secret services; in the purchase of provisions and clothing for the army; and in the importation of military stores, particularly arms and ammunition. In transactions of this kind, his commercial experience gave him great facilities. He was also employed on various committees, in which capacity he rendered many valuable services to his country.

In 1775, Mr. Lewis removed his family and effects to a country seat which he owned on Long Island. This proved to be an unfortunate step. In the autumn of the following year, his house was plundered by a party of British light-horse. His extensive library and valuable papers of every description were wantonly destroyed. Nor were they contented with this ruin of his property. They thirsted for revenge upon a man, who had dared to affix his signature to a document which proclaimed the independence of America. Unfortunately, Mrs. Lewis fell into their power, and was retained a prisoner for several months. During her captivity, she was closely confined, without even the comfort of a bed to lie upon, or a change of clothes.

In November, 1776, the attention of congress was called to her distressed condition, and shortly after a resolution was passed, that a lady, who had been taken prisoner by the Americans, should be permitted to return to her husband, and that Mrs. Lewis be required in exchange. But the exchange could

not at that time be effected. Through the influence of Washington, however, Mrs. Lewis was at length released; but her sufferings, during her confinement, had so much impaired her constitution, that, in the course of a year or two, she sunk into the grave.

Of the subsequent life of Mr. Lewis, we have little to record. His latter days were spent in comparative poverty, his independent fortune having, in a great measure, been sacrificed on the altar of patriotism, during his country's struggle for independence. The life of this excellent man and distinguished patriot was extended to his 90th year. His death occurred on the 30th day of December, 1803.

PHILIP LIVINGSTON.

Philip Livingston was born at Albany, on the 15th of January, 1716. His ancestors were highly respectable, and, for several generations, the family have held a distinguished rank in New York. His great grandfather, John Livingston, was a divine of some celebrity in the church of Scotland, from which country he removed to Rotterdam in the year 1663. In 1672, or about that time, his son Robert emigrated to America, and settled in the colony of New York. He was fortunate in obtaining a grant of a tract of land in that colony, delightfully situated on the banks of the Hudson. This tract, since known as the manor of Livingston, has been in possession of the family from that time to the present.

Robert Livingston had three sons, Philip, Robert and Gilbert. The first named of these, being the eldest, inherited the manor. The fourth son of this latter is the subject of the present memoir.

The settlement of New York, it is well known, was commenced by the Dutch. For many years, scarcely any attention was paid by them to the subject of education. They had few schools, few academies, and, until the year 1754, no college in the territory. Such gentlemen as gave their sons a liberal education, sent them either to New England, or to some foreign university. But the number of liberally educated men

was extremely small. As late as 1746, their number did not exceed 15 in the whole colony. The subject of this memoir, and his three brothers, were included in the number. The author is ignorant where the brothers of Mr. Livingston received their education, but he was himself graduated at Yale College, 1737.

Soon after leaving college, he settled in the city of New York, where he became extensively engaged in commercial operations. Mercantile life was, at this time, the fashionable pursuit. Mr. Livingston followed it with great ardor; and, having the advantage of an excellent education, and being distinguished for a more than ordinary share of integrity and sagacity, he was prosperous in an eminent degree.

In 1754, he was elected an alderman in the city of New York. This was his first appearance in public life. The office was important and respectable. The population of the city was 10,881 souls. Mr. Livingston continued to be elected to this office for nine successive years, by his fellow-citizens, to whom he gave great satisfaction, by his faithful attention to their interests.

In 1759, Mr. Livingston was returned a member from the city of New York to the general assembly of the colony, which was convened on the 31st of January of that year. This body consisted of 27 members, representing a population of about 100,000 inhabitants, the number which the colony at that time contained.

At this period, Great Britain was engaged in a war with France. A plan had been formed for the reduction of Canada by the united colonies. For this object, it was proposed to raise 20,000 men. The quota of New York was 2680. This number the general assembly directed to be raised, and appropriated £100,000 for the support of the troops, and ordered an advance of £150,000 to the British commissariat, for the general objects of the expedition. Similar measures were adopted by the other colonies, which, together with the assistance of the mother country, led to the capture of several important posts in Canada, and, in the following year, to the subjugation of the whole territory to the British power.

In this assembly, Mr. Livingston acted a distinguished part. His talents and education gave him influence, which was powerfully exerted in promoting the above important measures. He also suggested several plans, which were calculated to improve the condition of the colony, particularly in relation to agriculture and commerce. He was deeply impressed with the importance of giving to the productions of the country a high character in the markets abroad, and of increasing the facilities of communication with other countries. In respect to these and other subjects, he possessed a well informed mind, and was desirous of pursuing a most liberal policy.

Previous to the revolution, it was usual for the respective colonies to have an agent in England, to manage their individual concerns with the British government. This agent was appointed by the popular branch of the colonial assemblies. In 1770, the agent of the colony of New York dying, the celebrated Edmund Burke was chosen in his stead. Between this gentleman and a committee of the colonial assembly, a correspondence was maintained. As the agent of the colony, he received a salary of £500. He represented the colony in England, and advocated her rights. Hence the office was one of great importance. Not less important were the duties of the committee of correspondence. Upon their representations, the agent depended for a knowledge of the state of the colony. Of this committee Mr. Livingston was a member. From his communications, and those of his colleagues, Mr. Burke doubtless obtained that information of the state of the colonies which he sometimes brought forward, to the perfect surprise of the house of commons, and upon which he often founded arguments, and proposed measures, which were not to be resisted.

The patriotic character and sentiments of Mr. Livingston led him to regard with great jealousy the power of the British government over the colonies. With other patriots, he was probably willing to submit to the authority of the mother country while that authority was confined to such acts as reason and justice approved. But, when the British ministers began to evince a disposition to oppress the colonies, by way

of humbling them, no man manifested a stronger opposition than Mr. Livingston. His sentiments on this subject may be gathered from an answer, which he reported in 1764, to the speech of lieutenant-governor Colden. In the extract we give, may be seen the very spirit of the revolution, which led to American independence.

“ But nothing can add to the pleasure we receive from the information your honor gives us, that his majesty, our most gracious sovereign, distinguishes and approves our conduct. When his service requires it, we shall ever be ready to exert ourselves with loyalty, fidelity and zeal; and, as we have always complied, in the most dutiful manner, with every requisition made by his directions, we, with all humility, hope that his majesty, who, and whose ancestors, have long been the guardians of British liberty, will so protect us in our rights, as to prevent our falling into the abject state of being forever hereafter incapable of doing what can merit either his distinction or approbation. Such must be the deplorable state of that wretched people, who (being taxed by a power subordinate to none, and, in a great degree, unacquainted with their circumstances) can call nothing their own. This we speak with the greatest deference to the wisdom and justice of the British parliament, in which we confide. Depressed with this prospect of inevitable ruin, by the alarming information we have from home, neither we nor our constituents can attend to improvements, conducive either to the interests of our mother country, or of this colony. We shall, however, renew the act for granting a bounty on hemp, still hoping that a stop may be put to those measures, which, if carried into execution, will oblige us to think that nothing but extreme poverty can preserve us from the most insupportable bondage. We hope your honor will join with us in an endeavor to secure that great badge of English liberty, of *being taxed only with our own consent*; which we conceive all his majesty’s subjects, at home and abroad, equally entitled to.”

The colony of New York, it is well known, was, for a time, more under the influence of the British crown than several others, and more slowly, as a colony, adopted measures which hastened forward the revolution. But, all along, there were

individuals, in that colony, of kindred feelings with those who acted so conspicuous a part in Massachusetts and Virginia.

Among these individuals, none possessed a more patriotic spirit, or was more ready to rise in opposition to British aggressions, than Philip Livingston. The sentiments which he had avowed, and the distinguished part which he had all along taken, in favor of the rights of the colonies, marked him out as a proper person to represent the colony in the important congress of 1774. In the deliberations of this body he bore his proper share, and assisted in preparing an address to the people of Great Britain.

Of the equally distinguished congress of 1776, Mr. Livingston was a member, and had the honor of giving his vote in favor of that declaration, which, while it was destined to perpetuate the memory of the illustrious men who adopted it, was to prove the charter of our national existence. In the following year, he was re-elected to congress by the state convention, which, at this time, tendered to him and his colleagues an expression of public thanks, for the long and faithful services which they had rendered to the colony of the state of New York.

The constitution of the state of New York was adopted at Kingston, on the 20th of April, 1777. Under this constitution, Mr. Livingston, in May following, was chosen a senator for the southern district, and, in that capacity, attended the first meeting of the first legislature of the state of New York.

In October of the same year, an election took place for members of congress, under the new constitution. Among the number chosen, Mr. Livingston was one. On the 5th of May, 1778, he took his seat in that body. This was an eminently critical and gloomy period in the history of the revolution. The British had taken possession of Philadelphia, compelling congress to retire from that city. They had agreed to hold a session at York.

At this time, the health of Mr. Livingston was exceedingly precarious; and such was the nature of his complaint, which was a dropsy in the chest, that no rational prospect existed of his recovery: indeed, he was daily liable to be summoned

from the active scenes of life to his final account. Yet, in this dubious and anxious state, his love to his country continued strong and unwavering. For her good he had made many sacrifices; and, now that her interests seemed to require his presence in congress, he hesitated not to relinquish the comforts of home, and those attentions which, in his feeble and declining state, he peculiarly needed from a beloved family.

Previous to his departure, he visited his friends in Albany, whom he now bid a final farewell, as he expected to see them no more. His family, at this time, were at Kingston, whither they had been obliged to flee to escape the British army. To these, also, he bid an affectionate adieu, at the same time expressing his conviction, that he should no more return.

These sad anticipations proved too true. On the 5th of May, he took his seat in congress, from which time his decline was rapid. On the 12th of June, he ended his valuable life. Although deprived of the consolations of home, he was attended, during the few last days of his illness, by his son Henry, who was at that time a member of general Washington's family. Hearing of the illness of his father, he hastened to administer such comforts as might be in his power, and to perform the last duties to a dying parent.

On the day of his decease, his death was announced in the hall of congress, and by that body the following resolutions adopted:

“Congress being informed that Mr. P. Livingston, one of the delegates for the state of New York, died last night, and that circumstances require that his corpse be interred this evening,

“Resolved, that congress will, in a body, attend the funeral this evening, at six o'clock, with a crape round the arm, and will continue in mourning for the space of one month.

“Ordered, that Mr. Lewis, Mr. Duer and Mr. G. Morris be a committee to superintend the funeral; and that the reverend Mr. Duffield, the attending chaplain, be notified to officiate on the occasion.”

Mr Livingston married the daughter of colonel Dirck Ten

Broeck, by whom he had several children. His family has furnished several characters who have adorned society, and whose virtues have imparted dignity to human nature. Mr. Livingston is said to have been naturally silent and reserved, and to strangers to have appeared austere. Yet he was uncommonly mild and affectionate to his family and friends. He was a firm believer in the great truths of the Christian system, and a sincere and humble follower of the divine Redeemer.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

William Livingston, LL. D. governor of New Jersey, was born in the city of New York, about the year 1723, and was graduated at Yale College in 1741. He studied law, and, possessing an understanding of great energy, a brilliant imagination, and a retentive memory, and devoting himself assiduously to the cultivation of his mind, he soon rose to distinction in the profession. He early exhibited himself an able and zealous advocate of civil and religious liberty, and employed his pen in vindicating the rights of the colonies against the arbitrary claims of the British. After enjoying several important offices in New York, he removed to New Jersey, and, as a representative of that state, was one of the most distinguished of the congress of 1774. On the formation of a new constitution for that state in 1776, he was appointed the first governor, and was annually re-elected to the office till his death in 1790. He was characterized by simplicity in his manners, and ease, amiableness and wit in his social intercourse. His writings display uncommon vigor, keenness and refinement, and are often eloquent. He devoted himself, during the revolution, ardently to the cause of his country, and did much, by the shrewdness and severity of his writings, both to encourage his countrymen and exasperate the British.*

* This article and the two following were taken, with some immaterial alterations, from Lord's Dictionary.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Robert R. Livingston, chancellor of New York, and minister of the United States to France, was born in the city of New York, September 2d, 1747, and educated at King's College, where he was graduated in 1765. He studied law, and commenced its practice in New York, but was soon after appointed recorder of that city, and held the office till near the commencement of the revolution, when he was dismissed by governor Tryon, on account of his attachment to liberty. Mr. Livingston boldly advocated the cause of his country at that crisis, was elected to a seat in the first congress, and was one of its ablest and most influential members. He was one of the committee which drew up the declaration of independence, and, on the establishment of the executive departments in 1780, was appointed secretary of foreign affairs, and held the place till 1783. He was chosen, in 1777, a member of the convention which formed the constitution of New York, and, on its adoption, was appointed chancellor of the state, and continued in that office till he went to France, in 1801. It was in that capacity that he administered the oath of office to president Washington on his first inauguration. In 1788, he was a member of the convention of New York, which assembled to consider the constitution of the United States, and was a principal instrument in procuring its adoption. He was appointed minister to France in 1801, and rendered the most important services to his country while residing there, by negotiating the purchase of Louisiana, and procuring redress for the numerous spoliations by the French on the commerce of the United States. He returned to the United States in 1805, and, though not afterwards employed in public life, continued to be eminently useful, by promoting the progress of the arts and agriculture. He was a principal founder and the president of the New York academy of fine arts, and also of the society for the promotion of agriculture. He died in Christian hope on the 15th of February, 1813, in his 67th year, lamented as one of the most distinguished among his countrymen in talents, learning, public spirit and usefulness. He possessed an active

and vigorous mind, uncommon quickness of perception, was a profound lawyer and statesman, and ranked among the first Americans in eloquence.

BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON.

Brockholst Livingston, judge of the supreme court of the United States, was the son of William Livingston, governor of New Jersey, and was born in the city of New York, November 25th, 1757. He entered Princeton college, but, in 1776, left it for the field, and became one of the family of general Schuyler, commander of the northern army. He was afterwards attached to the suite of general Arnold, with the rank of major, and shared in the honors of the conquest of Burgoyne. In 1779, he accompanied Mr. Jay to the court of Spain as his private secretary, and remained abroad about three years. On his return, he devoted himself to law, and was admitted to practise in April, 1783. His talents were happily adapted to the profession, and soon raised him into notice, and ultimately to eminence. He was called to the bench of the supreme court of the state of New York, January 8th, 1802, and, in November, 1806, was transferred to that of the supreme court of the United States, the duties of which station he discharged with distinguished faithfulness and ability until his death, which took place during the sittings of the court, at Washington, March 18th, 1823, in the 66th year of his age. He possessed a mind of uncommon acuteness and energy, and enjoyed the reputation of an accomplished scholar, an able pleader and jurist, an upright judge, and a liberal patron of learning.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

Richard Montgomery, a major-general in the army of the United States, was born in the north of Ireland, in 1737. He possessed an excellent genius, which was matured by a fine education. Entering the army of Great Britain, he successfully fought her battles, with Wolfe, at Quebec, in 1759, and on

the very spot where he was, afterwards, doomed to fall, when fighting against her, under the banners of freedom.

He early imbibed an attachment to America, and, after his arrival in New York, purchased an estate, about one hundred miles from the city, and married a daughter of judge Livingston. When the struggle with Great Britain commenced, as he was known to have an ardent attachment to liberty, and had expressed his readiness to draw his sword on the side of the colonies, the command of the continental forces, in the northern department, was intrusted to him and general Schuyler, in the fall of 1775.

By the indisposition of Schuyler, the chief command devolved upon him in October. After a succession of splendid and important victories, he appeared before Quebec. In an attempt to storm the city, on the last of December, this brave commander fell by a discharge of grape shot, both of his aids being killed at the same time. In his fall, there was every circumstance united, that could impart fame and glory to the death of a soldier. His exit was deeply lamented, both in Europe and America. The American congress celebrated his funeral obsequies, and ordered a monument to be erected to his memory.

LEWIS MORRIS.

Lewis Morris was born at the manor of Morrisania, in the state of New York, in the year 1726. His family was of ancient date; the pedigree of it has been preserved; but it is too extended to admit of a particular notice in these pages. Richard Morris, an ancestor of the family, beyond whom it is unnecessary to trace its genealogy, was an officer of some distinction in the time of Cromwell. At the restoration, however, he left England, and came to New York; soon after which, he obtained a grant of several thousand acres of land, in the county of West-Chester, not far from the city. This was erected into a manor, and invested with the privileges which usually pertain to manorial estates.

Richard Morris died in the year 1673, leaving an infant child by the name of Lewis, who, afterwards, held the office of chief-justice of the province of New York, and became governor of New Jersey. In both these offices he was much respected, and exercised an enviable influence in both these colonies. The sons of Lewis were not less eminent; one being appointed a judge of the court of vice-admiralty; another chief-justice of New Jersey; and a third lieutenant-governor of the state of Pennsylvania.

From one of these sons, Lewis Morris, the subject of the present memoir, was descended. He was the eldest of four brothers. Staats became an officer in the British service, and for some time a member of parliament. Richard and Gouverneur both settled in the state of New York, and both became men of considerable distinction; the former as judge of the vice-admiralty court, and chief-justice of the state, and the latter as a representative in congress.

The early education of Lewis was respectable. At the age of 16, he was fitted for college, and was entered at Yale college, the honors of which he received in due course, having acquired the reputation of good scholarship, and a strict morality. Immediately on leaving college, he returned to his father's residence, where he devoted himself to the pursuits of agriculture. As he entered upon manhood, he seems to have possessed every thing which naturally commands the respect and attracts the admiration of men. His person was of lofty stature, and of fine proportions, imparting to his presence an uncommon dignity, softened, however, by a disposition unusually generous and benevolent, and by a demeanor so graceful, that few could fail to do him homage.

Although thus apparently fitted for the enjoyment of society, Mr. Morris found his greatest pleasure in the endearments of domestic life, and in attention to his agricultural operations. He was early married to a Miss Walton, a lady of fortune and accomplishments, by whom he had a large family of six sons and four daughters.

The condition of Mr. Morris, at the time the troubles of the colonies began, was singularly felicitous. His fortune

was ample; his pursuits in life consonant to his taste; his family and connexions eminently respectable and eminently prosperous. No change was, therefore, likely to occur which would improve his condition, or add to the happiness which he enjoyed. On the contrary, every collision between the royal government and the colonies was likely to abridge some of his privileges, and might even strip his family of all their domestic comforts, should he participate in the struggle which was likely to ensue.

These considerations, no doubt, had their influence at times upon the mind of Mr. Morris. He possessed, however, too great a share of patriotism, to suffer private fortune, or individual happiness, to come in competition with the interests of his country. He could neither feel indifferent on a subject of so much magnitude, nor could he pursue a course of neutrality. He entered, therefore, with zeal into the growing controversy; he hesitated not to pronounce the measures of the British ministry unconstitutional and tyrannical, and beyond peaceful endurance. As the political condition of the country became more gloomy, and the prospect of a resort to arms increased, his patriotic feeling appeared to gather strength; and although he was desirous that the controversy should be settled without bloodshed, yet he preferred the latter alternative, to the surrender of those rights which the God of nature had given to the American people.

About this time, the celebrated congress of 1774 assembled at New York. Of this congress Mr. Morris was not a member. He possessed a spirit too bold and independent to act with the prudence which the situation of the country seemed to require. The object of this congress was not war, but peace. That object, however, it is well known, failed, notwithstanding that an universal desire pervaded the country, that a compromise might be effected between the colonies and the British government, and was made known to the latter, by a dignified address, both to the king and to the people of Great Britain.

In the spring of 1775, it was no longer doubtful that a resort must be had to arms. Indeed, the battle of Lexington

had opened the war ; shortly after which, the New York convention of deputies were assembled to appoint delegates to the general congress. Men of a zealous, bold and independent stamp, appeared now to be required. It was not singular, therefore, that Mr. Morris should have been elected.

On the 15th of May, he took his seat in that body, and eminently contributed, by his indefatigable zeal, to promote the interests of the country. He was placed on a committee, of which Washington was the chairman, to devise ways and means to supply the colonies with ammunition and military stores, of which they were nearly destitute. The labors of this committee were exceedingly arduous.

During this session of congress, Mr. Morris was appointed to the delicate and difficult task of detaching the western Indians from a coalition with the British government, and securing their co-operation with the American colonies. Soon after his appointment to this duty, he repaired to Pittsburg, in which place and the vicinity he continued for some time, zealously engaged in accomplishing the object of his mission. In the beginning of the year 1776, he resumed his seat in congress, and was a member of several committees, which were appointed to purchase muskets and bayonets, and to encourage the manufacture of salt-petre and gunpowder.

During the winter of 1775 and 1776, the subject of a declaration of independence began to occupy the thoughts of many in all parts of the country. Such a declaration seemed manifestly desirable to the leading patriots of the day ; but an unwillingness prevailed extensively in the country, to destroy all connexion with Great Britain. In none of the colonies was this unwillingness more apparent than in New York.

The reason which has been assigned for this strong reluctance in that colony, was the peculiar intimacy which existed between the people of the city and the officers of the royal government. The military officers, in particular, had rendered themselves very acceptable to the citizens by their urbanity ; and had even formed connexions with some of the most respectable families.

This intercourse continued even after the commencement

of hostilities, and occasioned the reluctance which existed in that colony to separate from the mother country. Even as late as the middle of March, 1776, governor Tryon, although he had been forced to retreat on board a British armed vessel in the harbor for safety, had great influence over the citizens, by means of artful and insinuating addresses, which he caused to be published and spread through the city. The following extract from one of these addresses, will convey to the reader some idea of the art employed by this minister of the crown, to prevent the people of that colony from mingling in the struggle.

"It is in the clemency and authority of Great Britain only that we can look for happiness, peace and protection; and I have it in command from the king, to encourage, by every means in my power, the expectations in his majesty's well-disposed subjects in this government, of every assistance and protection the state of Great Britain will enable his majesty to afford them, and to crush every appearance of a disposition, on their part, to withstand the tyranny and misrule, which accompany the acts of those who have but too well, hitherto, succeeded in the total subversion of legal government. Under such assurances, therefore, I exhort all the friends to good order, and our justly admired constitution, still to preserve that constancy of mind which is inherent in the breasts of virtuous and loyal citizens, and, I trust, a very few months will relieve them from their present oppressed, injured, and insulted condition.

"I have the satisfaction to inform you, that a door is still open to such honest, but deluded people, as will avail themselves of the justice and benevolence, which the supreme legislature has held out to them, of being restored to the king's grace and peace; and that proper steps have been taken for passing a commission for that purpose, under the great seal of Great Britain, in conformity to a provision in a late act of parliament, the commissioners thereby to be appointed having, also, power to inquire into the state and condition of the colonies for effecting a restoration of the public tranquillity."

To prevent an intercourse between the citizens and the fleet, so injurious to the patriotic cause, timely measures were

adopted by the committee of safety ; but, for a long time, no efforts were availing, and even after general Washington had established his head-quarters at New York, he was obliged to issue his proclamation, interdicting all intercourse and correspondence with the ships of war and other vessels belonging to the king of Great Britain.

But, notwithstanding this prevalent aversion to a separation from Great Britain, there were many in the colony who believed that a declaration of independence was not only a point of political expediency, but a matter of paramount duty. Of this latter class Mr. Morris was one ; and, in giving his vote for that declaration, he exhibited a patriotism and disinterestedness which few had it in their power to display. He was at this time in possession of an extensive domain, within a few miles of the city of New York. A British army had already landed from their ships, which lay within cannon-shot of the dwelling of his family. A signature to the declaration of independence would ensure the devastation of the former, and the destruction of the latter. But upon the ruin of his individual property, he could look with comparative indifference, while he knew that his honor was untarnished, and the interests of his country were safe. He voted, therefore, for a separation from the mother country, in the spirit of a man of honor, and of enlarged benevolence.

It happened as was anticipated. The hostile army soon spread desolation over the beautiful and fertile manor of Morrisania. His tract of woodland, of more than a thousand acres in extent, and, from its proximity to the city, of incalculable value, was destroyed ; his house was greatly injured ; his fences ruined ; his stock driven away ; and his family obliged to live in a state of exile. Few men, during the revolution, were called to make greater sacrifices than Mr. Morris ; none made them more cheerfully. It made some amends for his losses and sacrifices, that the colony of New York, which had been backward in agreeing to a declaration of independence, unanimously concurred in that measure by her convention, when it was learned that congress had taken that step.

It imparts pleasure to record, that the three eldest sons of Mr. Morris followed the noble example of their father, and

gave their personal services to their country, during the revolutionary struggle. One served for a time as aid-de-camp to general Sullivan, but afterwards entered the family of general Greene, and was with that officer during his brilliant campaign in the Carolinas; the second son was appointed aid-de-camp to general Charles Lee, and was present at the gallant defence of fort Moultrie, where he greatly distinguished himself. The youngest of these sons, though but a youth, entered the army as a lieutenant of artillery, and honorably served during the war.

Mr. Morris left congress in 1777, at which time he received, together with his colleagues, the thanks of the provincial convention, "for their long and faithful services rendered to the colony of New York, and the said state."

In subsequent years, Mr. Morris served his state in various ways. He was often a member of the state legislature, and rose to the rank of major-general of the militia.

The latter years of Mr. Morris were passed at his favorite residence at Morrisania, where he devoted himself to the noiseless but happy pursuit of agriculture; a kind of life to which he was much attached, and which was an appropriate mode of closing a long life, devoted to the cause of his country. He died on his paternal estate at Morrisania, in the bosom of his family, January, 1798, at the good old age of 71 years.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Gouverneur Morris, an eminent political character, was a descendant from the distinguished family of that name of Morrisania. He was born in 1751, and graduated at the college in New York in 1768. He was called into public life at an early age, being elected a member of the provincial legislature of New York in 1775. In 1777, he was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of that state, and was appointed one of the delegates to congress. He was a decided friend of independence, and when the overtures for reconciliation were made known to congress by the British commissioners in 1778, their rejection was advocated with

great force of argument and poignancy of wit by Mr. Morris and William Henry Drayton. Residing afterwards in Pennsylvania, he was a delegate from that state to the convention which framed the constitution of the United States. He was one of the committee who revised the draught, and to whom it was indebted for the beauty and perspicuity of its style. In 1792, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to France. In that period of enthusiasm, an ardent attachment to the principles, and a cordial sympathy with the friends of the revolution, was esteemed an indispensable qualification in the minister of the United States. But, although a decided republican, he had too much wisdom not to doubt the ultimate utility of some of the measures then pursuing in that kingdom, or to participate in the sanguine anticipations of the leaders who directed them. In consequence, although his conduct was marked by the utmost prudence and urbanity, he failed to secure the confidence of the Directory, and, when a request was made for the recall of Mr. Genet, by the American government, it was met by a similar one from that of France, in relation to Mr. Morris, who returned to the United States in 1794. In 1797, he was elected a senator from the state of New York, in congress. He was a leading member of the federal party, and exercised a degree of influence which few other men possessed. His powers of eloquence were of the highest order. In the celebrated debate on the subject of abolishing the judiciary system, in 1802, he took an active part, in conjunction with Mr. Bayard and other distinguished statesmen, in opposition to that measure, and his speeches on that occasion were among the most powerful and impressive which have been known in the annals of American legislation. After his term as a senator expired, he retired to private life, to the enjoyment of an ample fortune, and the indulgence of a liberal hospitality. He married, in 1809, a daughter of Thomas Randolph of Virginia, and died at his seat at West-Chester, November 6th, 1816, aged 65. In addition to his speeches in congress, several of his orations on various occasions were published. Among these the most celebrated were, one delivered before the corporation of New York, 1800, occasioned by the death of Washington; and another delivered before an assembly of citizens convened to

celebrate the downfall of the emperor, and the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France. He also published an Oration before the New York Historical Society in 1816.*

PETER SCHUYLER.

Peter Schuyler, mayor of Albany, was distinguished for patriotism, and, by means of his popularity with the Indians, rendered important services to the *Colony* of New York, in securing their friendship and assistance during the wars with the French. In 1691, with a party of English and Mohawks, he attacked the French at the north end of Lake Champlain, and defeated them. He had great influence with the five Indian nations, and, in 1710, went to England with five of their chiefs, for the purpose of exciting the government to expel the French from Canada. In 1719, he, being the oldest member of the council, held the chief command in the colony. During his short administration, the public affairs were conducted with prudence and integrity.

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Philip Schuyler, a major-general in the revolutionary war, was born in 1731. He received his appointment from Congress in June, 1775, and was directed to proceed to Ticonderoga, and make preparations for entering Canada. Being taken sick in September, the command devolved upon Montgomery. On his recovery, he devoted himself zealously to the management of affairs in the northern department. On the approach of Burgoyne, in 1777, he made every exertion to obstruct his progress; but the evacuation of Ticonderoga by St. Clair, occasioning unreasonable jealousies in regard to Schuyler in New England, he was superseded by Gates, in August, and had the mortification to be recalled, when he was about to take ground, and face the enemy.

He afterwards, though not in the regular service, rendered

* Lord.

important services to his country in the military transactions of this state. He was a member of the old congress, and appointed a senator under the new federal constitution. He was again appointed senator, in the place of Aaron Burr, in 1797. He died at Albany, in November, 1804, in the seventy-third year of his age.

He was distinguished by strength of intellect and upright intentions, and was wise in the contrivance, and enterprising and persevering in the execution, of plans of public utility. In private life, he was dignified, but courteous, a pleasing and instructive companion, affectionate in his domestic relations, and just in his intercourse with mankind.*

* Allen.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and

magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

No. II.

The prisoners captured by sir William Howe, in 1776, amounted to many hundreds. The officers were admitted to parole, and had some waste houses assigned to them as quarters; but the privates were shut up, in the coldest season of the year, in churches, sugar-houses, and other large open buildings. The severity of the weather, and the rigor of their treatment, occasioned the death of many hundreds of these unfortunate men. The filth of the places of their confinement, in consequence of fluxes which prevailed among them, was both offensive and dangerous. Seven dead bodies have been seen in one building, at one time, and all lying in a situation shocking to humanity. The provisions served out to them were deficient in quantity, and of an unwholesome quality. These suffering prisoners were generally pressed to enter into the British service; but hundreds submitted to death, rather than procure a melioration of their circumstances by enlisting with the enemies of their country. After general Washington's successes at Trenton and Princeton, the American prisoners fared somewhat better. Those

who survived were ordered to be sent out for exchange ; but some of them fell down dead in the streets, while attempting to walk to the vessels. Others were so emaciated that their appearance was horrible. A speedy death closed the scene with many.

The American board of war, after conferring with Mr. Boudinot, the commissary-general of prisoners, and examining evidences produced by him, reported, among other things, "That there were 900 privates and 300 officers of the American army prisoners in the city of New York, and about 500 privates and 50 officers prisoners in Philadelphia ; that since the beginning of October all these prisoners, both officers and privates, had been confined in prison-ships, or the provost ; that, from the best evidence the subject could admit of, the general allowance of prisoners, at most, did not exceed four ounces of meat per day, and often so damaged as not to be eatable ; that it had been a common practice with the British, on a prisoner's being first captured, to keep him three, four or five days without a morsel of meat, and then to tempt him to enlist to save his life ; that there were numerous instances of prisoners of war perishing in all the agonies of hunger."

About this time, there was a meeting of merchants and others in London, for the purpose of raising a sum of money to relieve the distresses of the American prisoners then in England. The sum subscribed for that purpose amounted in two months to £4647 15s. Thus, while human nature was dishonored by the cruelties of some of the British in America, there was a laudable display of the benevolence of others of the same nation in Europe. The American sailors, when captured by the British, suffered more than even the soldiers which fell into their hands. The former were confined on board prison-ships. They were there crowded together in such numbers, and their accommodations were so wretched, that diseases broke out and swept them off in a manner that was sufficient to excite compassion in breasts of the least sensibility. It has been asserted, on as good evidence as the case will admit, that, in the last six years of the war, upwards of 11,000 persons died on board the Jersey, one of these prison-ships, which was stationed in East river, near New York. On many of these, the rites of sepulture were never, or but very imperfectly, conferred. For some time after the war was ended, their bones lay whitening in the sun on the shores of Long Island.*

* Ramsay.

No. III.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.**SECTION I.**

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

SECTION II.

I. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

II. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

III. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states, which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and, until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

IV. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

V. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker, and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

I. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

II. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

III. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

IV. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

V. The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

VI. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

VII. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

I. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legisla-

ture thereof; but the congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

II. The congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

I. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

II. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

III. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

IV. Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

I. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

II. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

V. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of

representatives ; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

II. Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the president of the United States : if he approve, he shall sign it ; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return ; in which case it shall not be a law.

III. Every order, resolution or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the president of the United States ; and, before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The congress shall have power

I. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises ; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States ; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States :

II. To borrow money on the credit of the United States :

III. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes :

IV. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States :

V. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures :

VI. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States :

VII. To establish post offices and post roads :

VIII. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries :

IX. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court :

X. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations :

XI. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water :

XII. To raise and support armies ; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years :

XIII. To provide and maintain a navy :

XIV. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces :

XV. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions :

XVI. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by congress :

XVII. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings : —and,

XVIII. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

I. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

II. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be sus-

pended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

III. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

IV. No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

V. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another.

VI. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

VII. No title of nobility shall be granted in the United States; and no person, holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign state.

SECTION X.

I. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

II. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any state on imports or exports shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the reversion and control of congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

I. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term

of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

II. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

III. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list, the said house shall in like manner choose the president. But, in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them by ballot the vice-president.

IV. The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

V. No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

VI. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties

of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

VII. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased or diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

VIII. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States.”

SECTION II.

I. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States. He may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

II. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

III. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such

measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient, he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

I. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

II. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

III. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trials shall be held in the state where the said crime shall have been committed; but when not committed

within any state, the trial shall be at such place, or places, as the congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

I. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

II. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainer of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

I. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

II. A person charged in any state with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

III. No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

I. New states may be admitted by the congress into this Union, but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the congress.

II. The congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitu-

tion shall be so constructed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guaranty to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress: Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

I. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the confederation.

II. This constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

III. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required, as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

<i>New Hampshire,</i>	{ John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.
<i>Massachusetts,</i>	{ Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.
<i>Connecticut,</i>	{ William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.
<i>New York,</i>	Alexander Hamilton.
<i>New Jersey,</i>	{ William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.
<i>Pennsylvania,</i>	{ Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.
<i>Delaware,</i>	{ George Read, Gunning Bedford, jun., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.
<i>Maryland,</i>	{ James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer Daniel Carroll.
<i>Virginia,</i>	{ John Blair, James Madison, jun.
<i>North Carolina,</i>	{ William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.
<i>South Carolina,</i>	{ John Rutledge, Charles C. Pinkney, Charles Pinkney, Pierce Butler.
<i>Georgia,</i>	{ William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President.*

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS.



The following amendments, having been adopted by three fourths of the several states, now compose a part of the constitution. Ten of these articles, having been presented by congress to the states in 1789, and subsequently ratified by three fourths of the states, were declared a part of the constitution in 1791. The thirteenth was adopted in 1798; and the fourteenth in 1804.

ARTICLE I.

After the first enumeration required by the first article of the constitution, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that there shall not be less than one hundred representatives, nor more than one representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of representatives shall amount to two hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred representatives, nor more than one representative for every fifty thousand persons.

ARTICLE II.

No law varying the compensation for the services of the senators and representatives shall take effect until an election of representatives shall have intervened.

ARTICLE III.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE IV.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE V.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE VI.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE VII.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VIII.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE IX.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE X.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE XI.

The enumeration in the constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE XII.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XIII.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XIV.

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves ; they shall name, in their ballots, the person voted for as president, and, in distinct ballots, the person voted for as vice-president, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for president shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if no person have such a majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president.

The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice-president ; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

ARTICLE XV.

If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain, any title of nobility or honor; or shall, without the consent of congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office or emolument of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince, or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them or either of them.

No. IV.

In 1784, Hugh White, esquire, removed with his family from Middletown, Connecticut, to Sedaghuate (now *Whitesborough*) which till then had been the gloomy abode of wild beasts and savage men. Judge White was the first who dared to overleap the German settlements on the Mohawk, and to encounter the hardships, privations and dangers of the western wilds. During the first four years of his establishment at Sedaghuate, the progress of the settlements around was slow and discouraging. In 1788, the town of German Flats was divided, and a new town established, which, in honor of this enterprising man, was named *Whitestown*.

Whitestown then contained less than 200 inhabitants; and included all that part of the state which now comprises the counties of Oneida, Lewis, Jefferson, St. Lawrence, Madison, Chenango, Broome, Tioga, Cortlandt, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Ontario, Steuben, Allegany, Genesee, Niagara, Cataraugus and Chatauque. Those counties, according to the census of 1810, at that time, contained 280,319 inhabitants.*

No. V.

List of the governors and lieutenant-governors of the colony and state of New York, with the time of their appointment.

DUTCH GOVERNORS.

Peter Minuit,	A. D. 1625.
Wouter Van Twiller,	1633.
William Kieft,	1638.
Peter Stuyvesant,	1647.
Anthony Colve, governor during the temporary possession of the Dutch,	from Oct. 1673 to Feb. 1674.

* Obituary notice of Judge White, published in the *Utica Patriot*, 1812.

ENGLISH GOVERNORS.

Richard Nichols,	1664.
Francis Lovelace,	1667.
Edward Andros,	1674.
Anthony Brockholst,	1681.
Thomas Dongan,	1682.
Francis Nicholson, lieut.	1688.
Jacob Leisler,	1689.
Henry Sloughter,	1691.
Richard Ingolsby, president,	1692.
Benjamin Fletcher, governor,	1692.
Richard earl of Bellomont,	1698.
John Nanfan, lieut. <i>acted</i> ,	1701.
Lord Cornbury <i>arrived</i> ,	1702.
John, lord Lovelace, baron of Husley,	1708.
Richard Ingolsby, lieut. <i>acted</i> ,	1709.
Gerandus Beekman, president,	1710.
Robert Hunter, governor,	1710.
Peter Schuyler, president,	1719.
William Burnet, governor,	1720.
James Montgomery,	1728.
Rip Van Dam, president,	1731.
William Crosby, governor,	1732.
George Clarke, president,	1736.
Mr. Clarke soon after appointed lieutenant-governor,	1736.
George Clinton,	1743.
Danvers Osborn,	1753.
James De Lancey, lieutenant-governor,	1753.
Sir Charles Hardy, governor,	1755.
James De Lancey, lieutenant-governor,	1757.
Cadwallader Colden, president,	1760.
Mr. Colden, appointed lieutenant-governor,	1761.
Robert Monckton, governor,	1762.
Mr. Colden, lieutenant-governor,	1763.
Henry Moore, governor,	1765.
Mr. Colden, lieutenant-governor,	1769.
John earl of Dunmore, governor,	1770.
William Tryon, governor,	1771.
Mr. Colden, lieutenant-governor, <i>acted</i> ,	1771.
William Tryon, governor,	1775.

STATE GOVERNORS.

George Clinton,	1777.
John Jay,	1795.
George Clinton,	1801.
Morgan Lewis,	1804.
Daniel D. Tompkins,	1807.
John Taylor, lieutenant-governor,	1817.
De Witt Clinton,	1817.
Joseph C. Yates,	1822.
De Witt Clinton,	1824.
Nath'l Pitcher, lieutenant-governor from the death of Mr. Clinton,	Feb. 1828 to Jan. 1829
Martin Van Buren from January to March, vacancy by resignation,	1829.
Enos T Troop, lieutenant-governor, succeeded Mr. Van Buren,	March 1829.

APPENDIX.



No. VI.

NOTES RESPECTING THE ENGRAVINGS.

THE portraits of Hamilton and Clinton are introduced, as it is believed every individual will wish to possess the lineaments of these great men.

The *View near West Point*, is esteemed one of the most beautiful scenes in this or any other country. It is rendered doubly interesting as being in the vicinity of the National Military Academy.—Every person who has passed up or down the Hudson has undoubtedly marked this spot. An engraving of it is therefore given, as being likely to recall a beautiful part of the scenery of this State, to the memory of many individuals.

The *View of the Mountain House* on the Kattskill mountains can need no apology. This place is the favorite resort of travellers during the summer, and is justly ranked among the most remarkable spots on the globe.

The *Likeness of Mr. Van Buren* can be no less acceptable at the present time. Holding one of the first stations under the General Government, and now ranked among the master spirits of the nation, it is no more than due to his high standing thus to give him a respectful notice in a history of his native State. A brief memoir is subjoined, which will exhibit the leading features of his biography.

LIFE OF MARTIN VAN BUREN.



MARTIN VAN BUREN was the second son of Abraham Van Buren of Kinderhook, in the county of Columbia, and State of New York. He was born at that place on the 5th of December, 1782. His parents were both of Dutch descent, and his ancestors were among the earliest settlers of Kinderhook.

In early life, Mr. Van Buren is said to have evinced indications of superior talents; aside from this we know but little of his early history. About the age of fourteen, however, he entered the office of a respectable practitioner of the law at Kinderhook, and during his course of study, he spent some months in the office of William P. Van Ness, Esq. a distinguished Counsellor of the city of New York. The superior advantages which offered during his residence in that city, were eagerly embraced; apt in the attainment, and ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, he employed the few months he remained there in a diligent and profitable prosecution of his studies.

In 1803 he commenced the business of his profession in the place of his nativity; in November of that year, he was licensed as an attorney, and early in the year 1807 he was admitted as a counsellor, in the supreme court.

In the county in which Mr. Van Buren resided, the political party to which he was attached was at that time in the minority;—he was without fortune, and almost without patronage. Great political excitements were at the same time agitating the State, and he was of course an object of hostility to the dominant party. But these circumstances to him

were not appalling. He was an aspirant for distinction; and although he was at that time surrounded by a powerful array of talent at the bar, and in the field of political controversy, his own abilities enabled him to force his way through the fearful array of difficulties which were opposed to him; and it was not long before he was able to contend, on high and equal grounds, with the most formidable of his opponents.

* During the year 1809, Mr. Van Buren removed to the city of Hudson, where he continued to reside until 1816. During his residence in that place, he attained high eminence at the bar, and dividing, with a distinguished and able advocate of Hudson, the business of their profession in the county, for several years; during which time, and notwithstanding their political collisions, a chivalric rivalry existed between the two champions at the bar, which was conducted in a spirit of unbounded liberality and confidence. In the meantime he was admitted to the higher courts, where he practised with success and reputation. In February, 1815, he was appointed Attorney General of the State. This appointment, together with an extending practice at the bar, induced him to remove to Albany, the year following; where he deservedly ranked high among the luminaries of his profession.

In 1812, he was for the first time a candidate for an election office; that of a State Senator for the then middle district. His opponent was Edward W. Livingston, Esq. a man of superior talents. Mr. Van Buren, however, was the successful candidate, after an arduous struggle on the part of his friends, and was elected by a majority of less than two hundred, out of twenty thousand votes.

In September, 1814, the legislature was convoked by the executive, with the view of aiding the administration in the prosecution of the war. Of the doings of this legislature, in addition to acts making appropriation of money, the most prominent were the acts "to authorise the raising of troops for the defence of the State," and to "encourage privateering associations." These bills were each supported by Mr.

* In 1808, after the election of Mr. Tompkins as Governor, he was appointed surrogate of the county, an office which he held until February, 1813, when he was removed.

Van Buren and were both passed: but the first and most important was peculiarly his measure, it having been matured and introduced by him.

In 1816 he was re-elected to the Senate, previous to which he had been appointed by the legislature as Regent of the University. He remained in the Senate till his term of service expired, which was in 1820.

From the commencement of Mr. Van Buren's legislative course to the close of it, he was a distinguished leader of his party, and was a decided supporter of measures connected with the great interests of the State,—particularly of those plans of internal improvement, which have since conferred on the State by which they have been executed, such imperishable honor. In February, 1821, he was appointed a Senator to the Congress of the United States.

In the interval between his appointment as a Senator, and the next session of Congress, a convention was held to amend the Constitution of the State. Mr. Van Buren, who had warmly advocated this measure, especially in reference to the extension of the right of suffrage, was unexpectedly returned to it by the republican electors of Otsego, as a member from that county, although he was at that time a resident of Albany.—His speeches on the various questions submitted to the convention, were published in the report of the proceedings of that body, and are among the ablest in the volume.

He took his seat in the Senate of the United States in December, 1821, and was re-elected in 1827 to the same station. In the Senate of the State he showed himself an able and sagacious legislator, and in the Senate of the United States where his sphere of action was greatly extended, and the subjects of deliberation proportionably difficult and complicated, he displayed a reach and comprehension of intellect, a degree of practical wisdom and enlightened forecast, which entitle him to the appellation and honors of a statesman. As a ready and successful debater he had few superiors. Several of his speeches, particularly those in favor of the bill abolishing imprisonment for debt, and in

support of the recent laws making provision for the officers of the revolution, have been ranked among the first specimens of eloquence ever heard in the Senate.

He took a leading part in the presidential election of 1824, and the canvass which preceded it, and gave Mr. Crawford his vigorous support.

With the electors of President and Vice-President for the State of New York, a Governor was also to be chosen to succeed the distinguished and lamented Clinton. Mr. Van Buren consented to become a candidate for the office, and was subsequently elected. He entered on the duties of this high trust, on the 1st of January, 1829, and on the 6th, transmitted to the legislature the annual message, a document equally creditable to the State and the author. He administered the government until the 12th of March following, when he resigned in consequence of his appointment as Secretary of State of the United States. Resolutions expressive of the "highest respect for his virtues and talents," and tendering to him the congratulations of the representatives of the people, with "their earnest wish, that he might enjoy a full measure of happiness and prosperity, in the new sphere of public duty to which he was about to be removed," were passed by both branches of the legislature. The like sentiments were expressed, in terms still more flattering and affectionate, by a part of the members, who transmitted him a communication on the eve of his departure, in which, after expressing "their attachment to his person, their respect for his character, and their regret at the separation which was about to take place," they tendered him their acknowledgements, "for the numerous and important services which he had rendered to the State, particularly in sustaining those political principles which they believed to be most intimately blended with its highest and dearest interests."

Immediately after his resignation as Governor of New York, he repaired to the post assigned him by the President, since which he has arduously devoted himself to its laborious and important duties.

A TABLE

Exhibiting the number of Counties in the State of New York, and population by the Census of 1825, and the Census of 1830.

COUNTIES.	Population of County in 1825.	Population of County in 1830.	COUNTIES.	Population of County in 1825.	Population of County in 1830.
Albany,	42,821	53,560	Oneida,	57,847	71,326
Allegany,	13,164	26,218	Onondaga,	48,435	58,974
Broome,	13,893	17,582	Ontario,	37,422	40,167
Cattaraugus,	8,643	16,726	Orange,	41,732	45,372
Cayuga,	42,743	47,947	Orleans,	14,460	18,773
Chautauque,	20,639	34,687	Oswego,	17,375	27,104
Chenango,	34,215	37,404	Otsego,	47,898	51,372
Clinton,	14,486	19,344	Putnam,	11,866	12,701
Columbia,	37,970	39,952	Queens,	20,331	22,276
Cortland,	20,271	23,693	Rensslelear,	44,065	49,472
Delaware,	29,565	32,933	Richmond,	5,932	7,084
Dutchess,	46,693	50,926	Rockland,	8,016	9,388
Erie,	24,316	35,710	Saratoga,	36,295	38,616
Essex,	15,993	19,387	Schenectady,	12,876	12,334
Franklin,	7,978	11,312	Schoharie,	25,926	27,904
Genesee,	40,906	51,992	Seneca,	20,169	21,031
Greene,	26,229	29,525	St. Lawrence,	27,595	36,352
Hamilton,	1,196	1,324	Steuben,	25,004	33,975
Herkimer,	33,040	35,869	Suffolk,	23,695	26,780
Jefferson,	41,650	43,515	Sullivan,	10,373	12,372
Kings,	14,679	20,539	Tioga,	19,951	27,706
Lewis,	11,669	14,958	Tompkins,	32,903	36,545
Livingston,	23,360	27,719	Ulster,	32,015	36,559
Madison,	35,646	39,037	Warren,	10,900	11,795
Monroe,	39,103	49,920	Washington,	39,280	42,615
Montgomery,	39,706	43,594	Wayne,	26,761	33,555
New York,	166,086	207,021	Westchester,	33,131	36,476
Niagara,	14,069	18,485	Yates,	17,450	19,019
Total,		1,616,453		1,923,522	
				1,616,458	
Increase from 1825 to 1830.				307,064	

Population of the State at various Periods.

1790	340,130		1820	1,372,812
1800	586,050		1825	1,616,458
1810	959,049		1830	1,923,522

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 014 107 265 1